

†Allen P. Wikgren*

Allen P. Wikgren, Biblical scholar and translator, died at the age of 91 on May 7, 1998 in Conover, Wisconsin. Dr. Wikgren was well-known within the scholarly community for his work in editing and translating the Greek New Testament and Apocrypha. He was known to papyrologists for his use of papyri in his biblical studies, and for his work on a number of papyri and ostraca.

Wikgren was born December 3, 1906 in Chicago. He received the degrees of B.A. (1928), M.A. (1929) and Ph.D. (1932) from the University of Chicago. After teaching at a number of institutions, Dr. Wikgren returned to the University of Chicago as a faculty member in 1940, where he served as Chairman of the Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature from 1953 until his retirement in 1972. Wikgren also served as director of the Chicago Greek Lectionary Project from 1958 to 1972. His primary research interests were biblical languages and their translation into English. His *Hellenistic Greek Texts* (Chicago 1947, 1950, 1954) was widely used as a chrestomathy for teaching *koine* Greek and included a number of papyri in its reading selections. He contributed to different versions of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible and the American Bible Society's *Greek New Testament*, and completed and edited the eighth volume of the Loeb edition of Josephus. A full bibliography of Dr. Wikgren's publications can be found in the *Festschrift* presented to him on his retirement from the University of Chicago in 1972.¹

Of special interest to papyrologists are the two projects Dr. Wikgren pursued after his retirement. The first and smaller of

* I would like to thank the late Dr. Wikgren's son and daughter-in-law, Burt and Martha Wikgren, for supplying information and copies of obituary notices.

¹ Robert W. Allison, "Allen P. Wikgren: Biography and Bibliography," *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honor of Allen P. Wikgren*, ed. David Edward Aune, Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* 33 (Leiden 1971) 252-257.

these projects was the edition and publication of a group of Greek papyrus fragments at the University of Chicago said to have been found at Khirbet Mird. Dr. Wikgren's major project in retirement was the edition of the Greek ostraca from the Oriental Institute's excavations at Medinet Habu. Some 4500 ostraca in hieratic, Demotic, Greek and Coptic were found in the course of this excavation. Initially, there were plans to publish the entire collection together in a single volume (a projected volume 10 for the "Excavations at Medinet Habu" series), but budgetary considerations and the death of one of the editors (Elizabeth Stefanski) led to the abandonment of this project. Instead, select Demotic and Coptic ostraca from this find were published separately; the majority of Medinet Habu ostraca in these scripts, however, remain unpublished. Dr. Wikgren published two of the ostraca from those in his charge (a Greek ostrakon and a bilingual Greek-Coptic ostrakon, both with biblical texts),² and continued to work on the hundreds of Greek ostraca from the excavation for much of his life. Plans are currently underway for the publication of the Khirbet Mird papyri that Dr. Wikgren was working on, and it is hoped that his work on the Medinet Habu ostraca will eventually see publication as well.

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² "Two Ostraca Fragments of the Septuagint Psalter," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 5 (1946) 181-184.

Notes on Papyri

to P.W. Pestman on his retirement

The following notes are offered to the distinguished scholar who has directed the *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* (BL) since volume 6 (Leiden, 1976).

I have selected thirty notes of three kinds. First, ten notes having a (slight) bearing on the interpretation of legal texts. Second, ten grammatical notes. Third, ten miscellaneous notes.

1. Notes on Juridical Texts

(1) BGU I 77

In this contract for the cancellation of a debt line 18 was originally read as follows: ὑπογραφέας τῆς ὁμολ(ογίας). This was soon recognized as the introduction of the subscription and corrected to: ὑπογραφεὺς τῆς ὁμολ(ογίας) (BL 1, 16). In reading ὁμολ(ογίας) the editor must have been looking for an appropriate feminine noun to go with τῆς. He apparently forgot that the person who issued the contract was a woman. I would simply read: ὑπογραφεὺς τῆς ὁμολ(ογούσης). This is a very common way to introduce the subscription for the illiterate person issuing the contract.

(2) BGU II 603

In this offer to harvest an orchard the final stipulation in the present text is broken off. Lines 37-39 were read as follows: ἐτέραν ἀρτά[β(ην)?] ἐλέας (l. ἐλαίας) ἐγλεκτης μετ[. . .] μέτρῳ ὀγδόῳ. In BL 1, 55 the supplement was given as μετ[ρήσο(μεν)]. This is odd, because a verb should have occurred much earlier; there is no verb in the immediately preceding statement about the money rent, and the main text uses the verb ἀποδίδωμι instead. I suspect that the colour of the olives is given here. In line 18 it is black; the adjective

is spelled μελένης (l. μελαίνης) there. I would therefore supplement ἐλέας (l. ἐλαίας) ἐγλεκτῆς μελ[ένης] (l. μελαίνης) in line 38.

(3) *BGU* III 860

In this lease of land we find various stipulations known from a host of other texts. In lines 13-14 the editor read as follows: φόρου τῆς μὲν ἐν [.] ἡμιεῖας μ[. . .]ου ἀρτάβας τέσσαρας. The contract is apparently for a plot of land half of which will be used by the lessee for growing wheat. The other half will be used for growing other crops. I would therefore restore the expected formula: φόρου τῆς μὲν ἐν [πυρῶ] ἡμιεῖας π[υρ]οῦ ἀρτάβας τέσσαρας. At the end of the line the amount of artabas may not be complete, because the text breaks off. Instead of 4 artabas it may also have been 4 1/2 artabas vel sim.

(4) *CPR* I 32

In this lease of land the name of the second lessee is in doubt. The editor read the following in line 20: Παειούεις ὥς (ἐτῶν) λ. In *BL* 6, 33 this was changed to Πανοῦρις ὥς (ἐτῶν) λ. Although it is quite common to add ὥς to a person's age, it is to be observed that it is left out in the case of the first lessee in this text. Fortunately, a photo of the text is available. There we see how the reading Πανοῦρις was arrived at. Ypsilon-rho was read instead of mu, and the following sigma is a misreading of epsilon. Instead of Πανοῦρις we read Πανομιε. To this the remaining ὥς can be attached. The genitive Πανομιέως instead of a nominative is not what we expect. A further difficulty remains. In line 4 of the text the same person is called Παειήους, which is confirmed by the photo. I have no solution to offer.

(5) *CPR* I 240

In this lease of land the person issuing the contract is called Stotoetis. The editor assumes that the subscription on his behalf was introduced as follows in line 36: τοῦ με]μικθωμένου Ἀπολλω[νίου. This is odd. I would read ὑπογραφεὺς τοῦ με]μικθωμένου Ἀπολλώ[νιος and introduce one other change in the lacuna in lines 32-33: παρα[δώσει ὁ] μεμικθωμένος τὸν κλῆρον ὥς καὶ αὐ[τὸς] (the lessee himself; not αὐ[τόν, scil. τὸν κλῆρον) παρ]ε[ί]ληφεν.

(6) *P.Grenf. I 9*

In this list of orders to pay the editor did not restore line 15. In *BL 6, 45* the following was proposed: [διάγραφον ὁμοίως εἰς] μῆνα Δαίσιον. This makes perfect sense, because a money payment is involved. But διάγραφον is odd, because this verb is used for payments by bankers. For ordinary money payments the verb χρηματίζω is used instead. This is indeed what we find in this text in line 5. I would therefore restore it also in line 15 as follows: [χρηματικὸν ὁμοίως εἰς] μῆνα Δαίσιον.

(7) *P.Heid. VII 394*

In this petition about the illegal grazing by a herd of sheep we find the following in lines 15-18: περὶ ὧν καὶ [lacuna] παρέδωκά σοι τοὺς νομεῖς. In his learned notes the editor assumes that the persons mentioned in lines 7-9 are the same as the shepherds mentioned in lines 15-18. He interprets ὧν rather unconvincingly as a reference to the persons mentioned in lines 7-9 rather than as a general "concerning which things" (i.e. the illegal grazing), which is the expected meaning. In the lacuna in line 16 we rather expect πρότερον, and this is even conceded by the editor. I would simply restore the text as follows: περὶ ὧν καὶ [πρότερον] παρέδωκά σοι τοὺς νομεῖς. The persons mentioned in lines 7-9 are not the same as the herdsmen, who were already mentioned in a previous petition. The herdsmen would indeed have been the persons most directly associated with the illegal grazing. In the meantime, however, the identity of the owners has apparently been established. These are the two characters mentioned in lines 7-9. Lines 15-18 merely recall what is already on record.

(8) *P.Heid. VII 401*

In this petition the editor reads line 11 as follows: μέρος τῆς οἰκίας μου. πράξεως γενομένης. He restores μέρος and assumes that a part of the house is involved. The phrase πράξεως γενομένης is odd. There has been a sale of what? I think there must have been a genitive dependent on πράξεως γενομένης somewhere in the text. If we remove the editor's full stop in the middle of the line and remove μέρος from the lacuna, we get the following straightforward text:

τῆς οἰκίας μου πράξεως γενομένης. Translate: "after there had been a sale of my house."

(9) *P.Oxy.* XXII 2342

In this draft of a petition ἐπίδωκα was read in line 34. One expects ἐπιδέδωκα or ἐπέδωκα. The editor did not provide a note; one rather suspects that a printing error is involved. A colour print of this papyrus, kindly provided by Dr. R. Coles, shows that the correct reading is ἐπέδωκα. Line 1 was added after the main body of the text was written; it is written in a smaller hand just as the last part of the text.

(10) *P.Par.* 21 ter

In this sale of the third part of a house lines 20-22 were originally read as follows: κοινῆς οὐςης τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίας [πρὸς τε ἐμὲ καὶ] Μαρίαν καὶ Ἰωάνναν ἄλλην ἡμῶν ἀδελφὴν κατὰ ὁμολογίαν [διαίρέσεως]. In *BL* 1, 341 this was changed to κατὰ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον [τρίτον μέρος]. The remainder, however, should be two thirds of the house. The supplement should therefore read: κατὰ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον [δίμοιρον μέρος].

2. Grammatical Notes

(11) *BGU* I 34

This is a private account from the fourth century. It is one of the papers of the important family from Hermopolis to which Aurelia Charite belonged. She even wrote part of the account. In column ii, line 15 the editor read: [. .] . ετοις παιδίοις. Recently the suggestion was made (*BL* 8, 18) that εἰς τε τοῖς should be read. This is odd, because εἰς does not take the dative and τε seems an awkward insertion. The "syntax" of the account is too good to allow such a monstrosity. An easy solution is offered if we translate the obvious meaning ("destined for") back into ordinary Greek. We then get: ὥστε τοῖς παιδίοις. ὥστε with a dative is quite common in documentary papyri.

(12) *BGU XIV 2418*

In this private letter the address in lines 1-2 has been read as follows by the editor: τῶι ἀδελφ[ῶι χαίρειν] καὶ ἐρρωμέ[νον εὐτυχεῖν. The editor assumes an *accusativus cum infinitivo*. The ordinary expression in such cases, however, is a dative, corresponding to τῶι ἀδελφ[ῶι] earlier on. We therefore have to restore ἐρρωμέ[νῳ].

(13) *P.Berl.Sarischouli 19*

In line 2 of this letter we find γέγρ[α]φεν. In the learned note to this line the editor remarks that γέγραφεν must be a mistake for the second person, because the context makes it clear that the addressee is the subject of this phrase. In the first line this person is mentioned as follows: τῇς περιβλέπτου σου φιλίας. Such “abstrakte Anredeformen” are quite common in late texts such as this one. The verb γέγρ[α]φεν in the third person in the opening phrase of the letter is therefore quite correct.

(14) *P.Giss. 78*

In this private letter the editor read lines 7-8 as follows: ἡ μικρά μου Ἑραιδ[ο]ῦς γράφουσα τῶι πατρὶ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἀσπάζεται κ[α]ὶ διὰ τι οὐκ οἶδα. This is awkward. What is supposed to have been meant by the very inconclusive διὰ τι? I would change the accent here as follows: διὰ τί. Now the meaning becomes clear. Mommy does not know the reason why her daughter did not say hello to her in her letter to daddy.

(15) *P.Heid. VII 397*

In line 7 of this registration of land the editor reads as follows: παρετέθ(η). He translates: “er hat vorläufig buchen lassen.” This is not Greek. We have to read a plural, παρετέθ(ησαν), and translate: “es wurden vorläufig gebucht.” The passive plural corresponds to the arourai in the nominative mentioned in the rest of the text.

(16) *P.Jand.* VI 116

In line 3 of this private letter the editor reads as follows: [ἐδεξάμην τὰ παρὰ c]οῦ γράμματα. This is good Greek. In *BL* 8, 154 I suggested that we change the editor's reading in lines 10-11 (η [lacuna] αὐτῶν) to ἡ [μήτηρ] αὐτῶν. This requires shorter supplements throughout the text. In line 3 we therefore have to reduce the length of the supplement somewhat. I propose the following: [ἐδεξάμην c]ου γράμματα.

(17) *P.Lips.* 33

In col. ii, line 8 of this *denunciatio ex auctoritate* a Latin quotation occurs, which the editor read as follows: Strategius v(ir) p(erfectissimus) com(es) praes(es) Thebai(dis) dei(xit) (l. di(xit)). It is perhaps easier to assume that the original text from which this is quoted read: d(ixit) ei.

(18) *P.Prag.* II 167

In this loan of money the following phrase is found in line 10: τήνδε τοῦτου ἀπόδοσιν. It is not clear what this τήνδε should refer to, and the editor does not tell us. I would introduce a minor correction: τὴν δὲ τοῦτου ἀπόδοσιν. The ἀπόδοσις has indeed not been mentioned before in the text.

(19) *SB* IV 7354

In this private letter the editor read the final part of the greeting in line 3 as follows: ἐρώμ[ενον]. There is no note, but the translation in the original edition shows that the editor took the verb to be ῥώννυμι. The orthographical mistake should be corrected to ἐρρωμ[ένον]. Instead of an accusative I would, however, restore a dative as in the earlier example: ἐρρωμ[ένω] (l. ἐρρωμένω).

(20) *P.Strassb.* I 35

In this business letter twice, in lines 8 and 17, the form γραψεν occurs. In *BL* 6, 190 this form is explained as an infinitive to follow θελήσει. In similar cases θελήσει is, however, usually followed by an imperative. This will have been the case here as well. The form γραψεν can be explained as an orthographical variant of γράψον.

The word θελήσῃ corresponds to English “please” and German “Bitte” and does not interfere with the syntax.

3. Miscellaneous Notes

(21) *BGU XV 2494*

In line 14 of this private letter the editor reads: Λονγεῖνον καὶ Σεργῆνον <καὶ> Ὀτρηνίωνα. Apparently he assumes that three persons are involved. The word between pointed brackets is not on the papyrus. If we leave it out, we get a person with a double name. In double names the “hyphen” (e.g. <τὸν καί>) is often left out, as it will have been here. Only two persons are involved.

(22) *P.Lond. IV 1462 (x)*

This “protocol” contains the date of production of the papyrus roll to which it was attached. In the edition the upper epsilon in the “cartouche” has been interpreted as the indiction number. This is odd, because in other protocols the indiction number comes last. If this protocol follows the normal pattern, one should take the lower iota as the year numeral. The date of production then changes to 711/2.

(23) *P.Oxy. I 43 recto*

In column vi, lines 8 and 11-12 of this official account of expenditure the following two entries are found according to the editors: Παλατίν[ω and lacuna]τινοῖς. They take the first as a personal name, the other they leave unrestored. I suspect that the same people are involved in both cases as in the previous entry in this text and would restore the two entries as follows: παλατίν[οῖς and παλα]τινοῖς. Palatini are officials from the imperial court and were introduced by Diocletian. This papyrus would provide the earliest attestation of palatini.

(24) *P.Prag. I 61 A*

(25) *P.Prag. I 61 B*

In line 2 of these requests for circumcision part of the title of the priest is read as follows: τῶν ἐν Ἀρσι(νόῃ) θεῶν. These are far

too early attestations of Ἀρσινόη for what we use to call Arsinoe, the capital of the Arsinoite nome. In the only cases where no abbreviation was used (*BGU* XIII 2216, 18 and *SB* I 16, 7, on which see below) it is Ἀρσινόη. We should therefore read τῶν ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ θεῶν in both cases.

(26) *P.Ryl.* IV 639

In this account of expenses from the Theophanes archive the following entry is found in line 176: τυμ(ῆς) εἰς κυκλίων (l. ἰκυκλίων). This is odd, because one does not usually buy sausage sellers, just sausages. I therefore confidently restore the entry as follows: τυμ(ῆς) εἰς κυκλίων (l. ἰκυκλίων).

(27) *SB* I 16

(28) *SB* I 17

(29) *SB* XX 14612

In these requests for circumcision part of the title of the priest is read as follows: τῶν ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ πόλει θεῶν (*SB* I 16, 7) and τῶν ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ θεῶν (*SB* XX 14612, 2-3). In view of our previous note on this expression it should be τῶν ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ θεῶν and τῶν ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ θεῶν respectively. Nothing precludes these readings. Adjust the supplement of this title in *SB* I 17, 8 accordingly.

(30) *SB* XIV 12340

This text contains three official receipts for the transportation of taxes in kind. The persons involved in each case are the naukleros and the kybernetes of the ship. The third text has the following structure: X κυβερνήτης πλοίου . . . ὃ παράσημον Y ὑπὸ Z ναύκληρον. In line 5 the order is inversed. In this case the naukleros issues the receipt. The kybernetes is apparently not mentioned. This would at least appear from the way the editor presents the text in lines 3-5: X ναύκληρος πλοίου δημοσίου τῆς Μαξιμιανοπόλεως ἀγωγῆς (ἀρταβῶν) . ὃ παράσημον Διονύσιος καὶ Σιλβανὸς ἀπὸ κόμης Πέζλα τοῦ Ἑρμοπολίτου. In the note to the original edition (*Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 1, 1979, 99, note to lines 4-5) the editor comments on the phrase in line 5 as if two distinguishing marks are involved, one a picture of Dionysus

(whose association with ships and seafaring is all too well known), the other a picture of Silvanus, the Roman god of the forest. This is odd. First, with the exception of Jupiter Roman gods are unexpected in papyri. Second, there are no forests in Egypt. Third, the addition of ἀπὸ κώμης Πέζλα τ[οῦ Ἑρμοπολίτου to Silvanus' name is extremely odd. Why should a Roman god of the forest be associated with an Egyptian village?

The solution is easy once we assume that the word *kybernetes* was left out. We then get the following: ὃ παράσημον Διόνυσος καὶ <κυβερνήτης> Σιλβανὸς ἀπὸ κώμης Πέζλα τ[οῦ Ἑρμοπολίτου. The ship's characteristics ("specs") were as follows: (1) the sign up front was a representation of Dionysus, (2) the *kybernetes* was one Silvanus from Pesla in the Hermopolite nome. Silvanus is a very common personal name in these parts of Egypt and Pesla is also otherwise known as a village with an important harbour.

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An Unedited Coptic Leaf of *Genesis* in
Cambridge University Library
(P.Camb.UL Or. 1699 II i)
(Plates 19-20)

The Coptic manuscript collection of Cambridge University Library can no longer be described as the 'poor little collection' Sir Stephen Gaselee branded it in 1929 whilst finishing his catalogue of the collection in sunny Madeira.¹ The manuscripts come from a variety of sources, including well-known manuscript hunters such as Henry Tattam, Constantin von Tischendorf and Greville Chester. Other sources include people connected with the University such as its Chancellor, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who, in 1625, acquired the Oriental collection of Thomas Erpenius, Professor of Oriental languages at Leiden; the Vice-Chancellor, Provost of King's College, and Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, better known as the ghost-story writer M. R. James; Solomon Schechter and Charles Taylor, who were responsible for the Library's famous collection of manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah, a few of which are Coptic; two Professors of Arabic, William Robertson Smith, and William Wright;² and the archaeologist H. G. Evelyn White. Coptic manuscripts were also acquired from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (from a collection originally belonging to George Percy Badger); a London

¹See his letter dated February 14th, 1929, to the Librarian of Cambridge University Library, A. F. Scholfield; this letter and Gaselee's catalogue are now deposited in the Library's Near Eastern and Indian Section.

I am grateful to Jill Butterworth and Godfrey Waller for providing me with information about the Coptic collections of Cambridge University Library.

²William Wright may, alternatively, be identified as the Shakespearean scholar William Aldis Wright.

book-seller called H. A. Selden; and, most recently, the collector George Michaelides.³

The leaf edited below, P.Camb.UL Or. 1699 Π i, comes from an assortment of literary fragments (mainly Coptic but also some Greek) comprising inventory numbers Or. 1699 and 1700 which were bequeathed by the distinguished demotist and Coptologist Sir Herbert Thompson to Cambridge University Library on April 29th, 1939. A large number of ostraca, mostly Greek and demotic, but also some Coptic, were also included in the bequest.

A number of manuscripts from Thompson's collection derive from Shenute's White Monastery but the place of origin of Or. 1699 Π i is not known. It preserves *Gen* 20:12-21:12 on pp. 63-4 of a codex containing mainly *Gen* but also part of *Sus*, designated by Karlheinz Schüssler as sa 3.⁴ It is one of the two leaves from this codex which is still unedited (the other is sa 3.8 in a Cairo collection); other leaves are now to be found in collections in Ann Arbor, Paris, Rome and Vienna.

Parallel passages of *Gen* are to be found in sa 4.4, a single leaf in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung K 9380), and a 9th century parchment manuscript from Hamuli, sa 5 (Louvain, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Lov. 2). Differing dates have been assigned to the codex to which the Viennese leaf belongs (sa 4): 10th century and 12th. The edition of P.Camb. UL Or. 1699 Π i (sa 3.6) has implications for the reading and restoration of sa 4.4, see apparatus below.

³S. J. Clackson, "The Michaelides Coptic Manuscript Collection in the Cambridge University and British Libraries with Excursuses on the Monasteries of Apa Apollo and Two Uncommon Epistolary Formulae," in D. W. Johnson ed., *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington, 12-15 August 1992*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Rome 1993) 123-38.

⁴K. Schüssler ed., *Biblia coptica: Die koptischen Bibeltex-te*, Bd I, *Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament: sa 1-20*, Lieferung 1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1995). This volume is reviewed below on pp. 229-233. Note that all sa numbers given in this article refer to Schüssler's list, not that of Schmitz and Mink.

P.Camb.UL Or. 1699 Π i (Schüssler sa 3.6)⁵ Plates 19-20⁶
 Parchment 328 h x 261 w mm. 9th century

Several lacunae obscure the text; the edges of the parchment are tattered, and the corners of the bound edge are lacking. Fragments of other leaves are stuck to the bound edge of the flesh side. Hair and flesh sides are distinguishable by color.

The lower margin of both sides bears the modern inscription 'Or. 16.1699 Π i,' and the right margin on the hair side has a stamp 'University Library Cambridge D 29 Ap 1939.'

Both sides of the leaf are inscribed with two columns of text, 35 lines each. Col. 1 H is missing all or part of the first 5 lines and ll. 28-31 are also damaged. Col. 2 F lacks the ends of ll. 1-5 and 28-32. Although there is damage to the upper and lower part of the leaf, the ruling on the flesh side is most probably the common pattern Leroy 00 A2.⁷ Some text extends beyond the ruled area. The dimensions of the written area are 255 h x 175 w mm, with intercolumnar width of 30 mm.

Palaeography: predominantly bilinear upright majuscule script executed in the thick-and-thin style, and exhibiting the following features: rounded Δ; three stroke Μ, the middle stroke curving right down to the 'baseline;' narrow ΕΟC; and short ΠϣΥ. In some cases, the horizontal bar of Τ extends over the preceding and/or following letter. Some letters extend into the margin. Two dot trema on almost every Ι.

Superlineation: usually very short so that it just spans the top of the first vertical stroke of Ν or Μ (the two letters over which it is mostly employed); sometimes medial; rarely spans the whole of a letter. Punctuation consists of a raised point, which resembles a small c in **64:ii:23**; a :- is employed at the end of **63:ii:25**. In **63:i:22**

⁵This manuscript is published by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

⁶Photographs courtesy of Cambridge University Library's photographic service.

⁷J. Leroy, *Les types de réglure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1976) 1.

there is a superlinear stroke abbreviation marker indicating the loss of the final letter in $\varrho\bar{\epsilon}$ ($\varrho\epsilon\text{N}$ or $\varrho\epsilon\text{M}$); this also occurs in **64.i:12** ωMOY (ωMOYN).

Decoration: except for enlarged ekthetic initials, the columns are flush at the left margin but irregular at the right. Height of ten lines (including interlinear spacing) ranges from 70-73 mm.

Lectional signs: beneath a horizontal stroke, a marginal budded dipole with a zeta-shaped tail is employed before sections **63.i.8,19, ii:26** and **64:ii:8**. The dipole appears to have been colored in but no traces of color now remain on this leaf.

Page numbers are placed above the right edge of **63:ii** and the left edge of **64:i**, in both cases with a horizontal line above and below and preceded by a >-shaped embellishment (this also occurs beneath the page number on **63**). In **64**, the page number is followed by a :- sign.

Bibliography: Schüssler *op. cit.* (see above, n. 4) p. 34 sa 3.6.

p. 63

Hair	Col. I	Col. II	> <u>31</u>
1 (Gen 20:11contd)]..	(20:16) ΠΕΧΔϣ ΔΕ ΝCΔΡ-	
2]..	ΡΔ ΔΕ ΕΙC ΤΟΥ Ν-	
3]...	ΩΕ ΝCΔΤΕΕΡΕ Ν-	
4 (20:12)	ΝΩ]Η ΝΕΙΩΤ ΔΔ-	ΞΔΤ ΔΙΤΔΔΥ Μ-	
5	ΔΔ Ν]ΩΗ ΝΜΔΔΥ	ΠΟΥCΟΝ · ΝΔΙ	
6	ΔΝ ΔCΩΠΕ	ΕΥΕΩΠΕ ΝΕ	
7	ΝΔΙ ΕΥCΞΙΜΕ ·	ΕΠΤΔΙΟ ΜΠΟΥΞΟ ·	
8 (20:13)] ΔCΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ-	ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΜΜΕ	
9	ΡΕΤΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΤ	ΤΗΡΟΥ · ΔΥΩ	
10	ΕΒΟΧ ΞΜ ΠΗΙ Μ-	ΝΤΕΞΕ ΜΕ ΝΟΥ-	
11	ΠΔΕΙΩΤ ΔΙΔΟΟC	ΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ · (20:17) Δ-	
12	ΝΔC ΔΕ ΤΕΙΔΙ-	ΔΒΡΔΞΔΜ ΔΕ Ω-	

13	ΚΑΙΟCYNH ΕΡΕ-	ΛΗΛ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ
14	ΔΔC ΝΜΜΔΙ̅ · ΜΔ	ΔΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΔΛ-
15	ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΝΔ-	ΘΕ ΔΒΙΜΕΛΕΚ
16	ΒΩΚ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΡ ^Ο Υ	ΜΝ ΤΕΥCΖΙΜΕ
17	ΔΔΙC ΕΡΟΙ̅ ΔΕ ΠΔ-	ΜΝ ΝΕΥCΖΜΔΛ ·
18	CON ΠΕ · (20:14) ΔΔΒΙ-	(20:18) ΔΥΜΙCΕ ΔΕ ΖΝ ΟΥ-
19	Ⲛ Μελεκ ΔΕ ΔΙ̅ ΝΤ-	ΩΤΔΜ ΓΑΡ ΔΠ-
20	ΟΥ ΝΩΕ ΝCΔΤΕ-	ΝΟΥΤΕ ΩΤΔΜ
21	ΕΡΕ ΝΖΔΤ · ΜΝ	ΕΡΝΟΟΥΤΕ ΝΙΜ
22	ΖΝΕCΟΥ · ΜΝ ΖΕ-	ΕΤΖΜ ΠΗΙ̅ ΝΔ-
23	ΜΔCΕ · ΔΥΩ	ΒΙΜΕΛΕΚ ΕΤΒΕ
24	ΖΝΖΜΖΛΛ ΝΖΟΥΤ ·	CΑΡΡΑ ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ
25	ΜΝ ΖΝΖΜΖΛΛ	ΝΔΒΡΔΖΔΜ :-
26	ΝCΖΙΜΕ · ΔΥΤΔ-	(21:1) Ⲛ ΔΠΔΟΕΙC ΔΕ ΘΜΠ-
27	ΔΥ ΝΔΒΡΔΖΔΜ	ΩΙΝΕ ΝCΑΡΡΑ
28	ΔΥ]Ω ΔΥΤ ΝΔΥ	ΚΑΤΔ ΘΕ ΝΤΔΥ-
29	ΝC]ΑΡΡΑ ΤΕΥCΖΙ-	ΔΟΟC · ΔΠΔΟΕΙC
30	ΜΕ] · (20:15) ΠΕΔΕ ΔΒΙ-	ΕΙΡΕ ΚΑΤΔ ΘΕ Ν-
31	Μ]ΕΛΕΚ ΝΔΒΡΑ-	ΤΔΥΩΔΔΕ ·
32	ΖΔΜ ΔΕ ΕΙC ΠΚΔΖ	(21:2) ΔCΑΡΡΑ ΩΩ ΔC-
33	ΜΠΕΚΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ·	ΔΠΟ ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ
34	ΠΜΔ ΕΤΕΡΔΝΔΚ	ΝΔΒΡΔΖΔΜ ΖΝ
35	ΟΥΩΖ ΖΡΑΙ̅ ΝΖΗΤΥ ·	ΤΕΥΜΝΤΖΛΛΟ

63:i:1 final letters may be ΕΤ (corresponding to *Gen* 20:11 (ΝCΕΜΟΥΤ ΕΤΒ)ΕΤ(ΔCΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΔΜΗ ΤΔCΩΝΕ ΤΕ) ?).

4 restored after sa.4.4. **4, 11** ΕΙΩΤ: sa 4.4 ΙΩΤ.

5 restored after sa.4.4. ΝΜΔΔΥ: sa 4.4 ΝΜΜΔΔΥ.

9 ΕΝΤ̅: sa 4.4 ΗΝΤ̅.

12-13 ΤΕΙ̅ΔΙ̅ΚΑΙΟCYNH : †ΔΙΚΑΙΟCHNH sa 4.4.

13 ΕΡΕ-: now illegible; reading follows sa 4.4.

16 ΒΩΚ ΕΞΟΥΝ : sa 4.4 ΒΩΚ.

17 ΕΡΟΪ : sa 4.4 ΕΡΟΟΥ.

18-19 ΔΔΒΙΜΕΛΕΚ ΔΕ : sa 4.4 ΔΔΒΙΜΕΛΕΧ.

22-23 ΜΝ ΞΕΜΔΑΘΕ · ΔΥΩ : sa 4.4 ΔΥΩ ΞΜΜΔΖΕ :.

29 C]ΔΡΡΑ : sa 4.4 ΖΔΡΡΑ .

30-31 ΔΒΙ[Μ]ΕΛΕΚ : sa 4.4 ΔΒΙΜΕΛΕΧ ΔΕ.

33 ΠΕΚ- : sa 4.4 ΠΚ-.

ii.1-2,24 CΔΡΡΑ : sa 4.4 ΖΔΡΡΑ .

2-5 ΕΙC ΤΟΥ ΝΩΕ ΝCΔΤΕΕΡΕ ΝΞΔΤ ΔΪΤΔΔΥ ΜΠΟΥCΟΝ : sa 4.4 ΕΙC ΞΗΗΤΕ ΔΙΤ ΝΤΟΥ ΝΩΕ ΝCΔΤΕΕΡΕ ΜΠΟΥCΟΝ.

6-7 ΝΕ ΕΠΤΑΙΟ : sa 4.4 ΝΗ ΝΤΑΙΟ .

8 ΝΕΤΝΜΜΕ : sa 4.4 ΝΤΝΜΜΗ.

10 ΝΤΕΞΕ ΜΕ : sa 4.4 ΝΤΕΞΙ ΜΗ.

14-15 ΤΔΛΘΕ ΔΒΙΜΕΛΕΚ : sa 4.4 ΤΔΛΘΟ ΝΔΒΙΜΕΛΕΧ.

16 ΤΕΓ- : sa 4.4 ΤΓ-.

17 ΝΕΦΞΜΞΔΔ : sa 4.4 ΝΓΞΜΞΔΔ ΤΗΡΟΥ.

18 ΔΥΜΙΘΕ ΞΕ : sa 4.4 ΔΥΜΙΘΕ.

20 ΝΟΥΤΕ : sa 4.4 ΞΟΘΙC.

21 ΕΡΝ- : sa 4.4 ΕΡΕΝ-.

22 ΕΤΞΜ- : sa 4.4 ΞΜ-.

22-23 ΔΒΙΜΕΛΕΚ : sa 4.4 ΔΒΙΜΕΛΕΧ.

26-27 ΔΠΔΘΕΙC ΔΕ ΘΜΠΩΪΝΕ ΝCΔΡΡΑ : sa 4.4 restored ΔΠΔΘΕΙC Θ[Ω]ΥΤ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΖΔΡΡΑ] but read as sa 3.6 and sa 5?

28-32 ΝΤΔΦΔΟΟC · ΔΠΔΘΕΙC ΕΙΡΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΔΦΩΔΔΕ · ΔCΔΡΡΑ ΩΩ : sa 4.4 restored Ν[ΤΔΦΩΔΔΕ · ΔΥΩ] ΔΠΔΘΕΙC [ΔΦΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΔΡΡΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ Ν]ΤΔΓΩΔΔ[Ε · ΔΥΩ ΔCΩΩ] but may be read as sa 3.6.

30 ΕΙΡΕ : sa 5 ΕΙΡΕ ΝCΔΡ[ΡΑ].

32 ΩΩ : sa 5 [ω].

35 ΤΕΦΜΝΤΞΛΛΟ : sa 4.4 restored Τ[ΜΝΤΞΛΛΩ] but may be read as sa 3.6 and sa 5 (partially restored).

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Flesh

>Ⲫⲁ :- Col. I

- 1 ⲉⲙⲓ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲉⲓⲱ
 2 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲡ-
 3 ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ
 4 **(21:3)** ⲁⲁⲃⲣⲁⲉⲁⲙ ⲙⲟϥ-
 5 ⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉϥ-
 6 ⲱⲙⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥ-
 7 ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁϥ
 8 ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲁⲣⲣⲁ
 9 ⲛⲡⲟϥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲉ
 10 ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ · ⲁⲁⲃⲣⲁ-
 11 ⲉⲁⲙ ⲥⲃⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ
 12 ⲉⲙⲓ ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲉⲱⲙⲟϥ
 13 ⲛⲉⲟⲟϥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲉ
 14 ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ
 15 ⲉⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ
 16 ⲙⲙⲟⲥ · **(21:5)** ⲁⲃⲣⲁ-
 17 ⲉⲁⲙ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲛ
 18 ⲱⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ
 19 ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲱ-
 20 ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲓⲥⲁ-
 21 ⲁⲕ ⲡⲉϥⲱⲙⲣⲉ
 22 **(21:6)** ⲡⲉⲛⲁⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲥⲁⲣ-
 23 ⲣⲁ ⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ
 24 ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ[ⲁ]ⲓ ⲛⲟϥ-
 25 ⲥⲱⲃⲉ · ⲡⲉⲧ-
 26 ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲓⲁⲣ
 27 ϥⲛⲁⲣⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲙ-
 28 ⲙⲁⲓ · **(21:7)** ⲁϥⲱ ⲡⲉ-
 29 ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧϥⲉ-

Col. II

- (21:8)** ⲁ[ⲡⲱⲙⲣⲉ ⲱⲙⲙ]
 ⲁϥ[ⲛⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲟⲙⲛⲁϥ]
 ⲁⲁⲃ[ⲣⲁⲉⲁⲙ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ]
 ⲛⲟϥⲛⲟⲉ ⲛ[ϥⲟⲡⲥ]
 ⲙⲡⲉⲉⲟⲟϥ [ⲛⲧⲁϥ-]
 ⲉⲙⲛ ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲡⲉϥ-
 ⲱⲙⲣⲉ · **(21:9)** ⲁⲥⲁⲣ-
 ⲓ ⲣⲁ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲱⲙ-
 ⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲣ ⲧⲣⲙⲛ-
 ⲕⲙⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁϥ-
 ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁ-
 ⲉⲁⲙ ⲉϥⲥⲱⲃⲉ
 ⲙⲛ ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲡⲉϥ- (sic!)
 ⲱⲙⲣⲉ · **(21:10)** ⲡⲉⲛⲁⲥ
 ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁⲉⲁⲙ ⲛⲉ
 ⲛⲟϥⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲕ ⲛ-
 ⲧⲉⲓⲉⲙⲉⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ
 ⲡⲉⲥⲱⲙⲣⲉ · ⲛⲛⲉϥ-
 ⲕⲕⲙⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲉⲓ
 ⲓⲁⲣ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲡⲱⲙ-
 ⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲉⲙⲉⲁⲕ
 ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲱⲙⲣⲉ
 ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ · **(21:11)** ⲁⲡⲱⲁ-
 ⲛⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲣⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧ-
 ⲛⲁⲱⲧ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ
 ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲕ
 ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁⲉⲁⲙ ⲉⲧ-
 ⲃⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲱⲙ[ⲣⲉ
(21:12) ⲡⲉⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲛ[ⲟϥⲧⲉ]

30	ΔΟΟC ΔΕ CΔPPΔ	ΔΕ NΔBPΔZ[ΔM]
31	TCNKO NOY-	ΔΕ MΠP̄TP̄E[Π-]
32	ΩHP̄E NΔBPΔ-	ΩΔΔΕ ΩΩΠ[Ε]
33	ΞΔM · ΔΕ ΔΙΞΠE	ΕΥNΔΩT MΠE-
34	OYΩHP̄E ZN̄ TΔ-	KMT O EBOL · ET-
35	MNTΞ̄λλω ·	BE ΠΩHP̄E ΩHM

64.i:1 ΠEYOEİΩ: sa 4.4 ΠEOY[OEIΩ].

5 ΠEY-: sa 4.4 ΠȲ-.

8 ΠΔῙNTΔCΔPPΔ: sa 4.4 E[NT]ΔZΔPPΔ.

10 İCΔΔK: sa 4.4 EICΔΔK.

11 CBBE NİCΔΔK sa 4.4 [ΔYCB]BE NİCΔΔK; sa 5 [CBBHTY] restored because not enough space for CBBE NİCΔΔK according to the editor.

12 MEZΩMOȲ: sa 4.4 MZ̄Ω[M]OYN; sa 5 MEZ[ΩMOYN].

17 NEY-: sa 4.4 NȲ-.

19 NTEPEY-: sa 4.4 NTEPȲ-.

20-21 İCΔΔK: sa 4.4 EICΔΔK.

21 ΠEY-: sa 4.4 PȲ-.

22-23 CΔPPΔ: sa 4.4 ZΔPPΔ.

23 NOYTE: sa 4.4 ΔOEIC.

24 N[Δ]I: sa 4.4 N̄MMΔ[I].

29-30 ΠETYEXΔOOC: sa 4.4 ΠE ETNΔ[X]OOC.

30 CΔPPΔ: sa 4.4 ZΔPPΔ.

33 ΔΠE-: sa 4.4 ΔΠO N-.

35 MNTΞ̄λλω: sa 4.4 MHTΞ̄λλω (read as sa 3.6?).

ii.1-2 restored after sa 4.4; in his transcription of sa 3.6, Herbert Thompson suggested a reading of [ΔΠΩHP̄E ΩHM ΔIΔI] / ΔY[ω ΔYΩMX M̄MOY], or [ΔΠΩHP̄E ΔYΞΔNE] / ΔY[ω ΔCOMXZ̄Y].

3-4 [ΕİPE] NOYNOΘ N[ΩOTC̄]: partially restored after sa 4.4 EP {O}OYNOΘ NΩOTC̄.

6 ĒM̄X İCΔΔK ΠEY-: sa 4.4 EM̄^TX (sic!) EICΔΔK PȲ-.

7 ΩHP̄E: sa 5 [ΩHP̄E NZHTY].

7-8 Ⲭⲁⲡⲡⲁ: read Ⲭⲁⲡ- in sa 4.4 instead of ⲉⲁⲡ- (end of fragment).

13 ⲡⲉⲓ- : sa 5 ⲡⲉⲥ-.

15, 27, 30 ⲛ- : sa 5 ⲉⲛ-.

17, 21 ⲧⲉⲓ- : sa 5 ⲧ-.

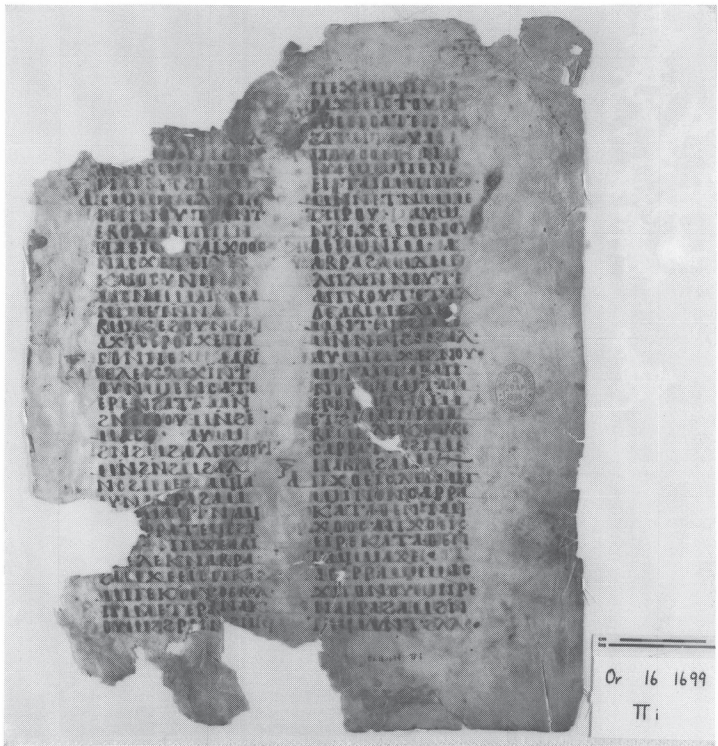
25 ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ : sa 5 ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ.

26 ⲙⲧⲟ : sa 5 [ⲉⲙⲧⲟ].

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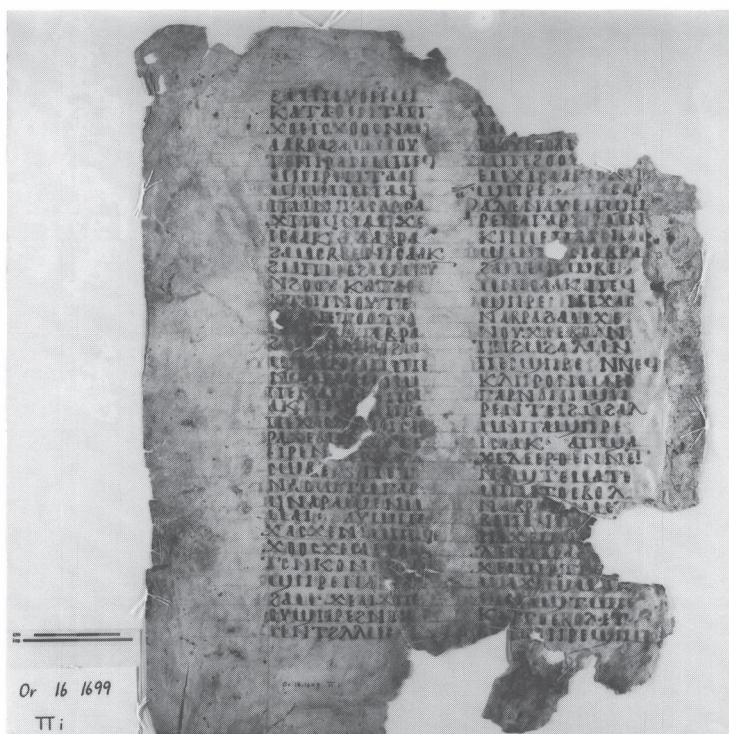
*Christ's College,
University of Cambridge*

(to Clackson, “An Unedited Coptic Leaf...”) Plate 19



P.Camb.UL Or. 1699 II i: p. 63
(Photograph courtesy of Cambridge University Library
Photographic Services)

Plate 20 (to Clackson, “An Unedited Coptic Leaf...”)



P.Camb.UL Or. 1699 Π i: p. 64

(Photograph courtesy of Cambridge University Library
Photographic Services)

A School Tablet: A List of Names and Numbers (Plates 21-22)

This wooden tablet at the University of Michigan—T.Mich. inv. 764—was published in 1921 by A. E. R. Boak, who thought that what he called the *recto* of the tablet contained an exercise practicing letters of the alphabet in random order, while the *verso* presented cardinal numbers from 1 to 9,000.¹ Both sides of the tablet need to be reexamined.

The tablet has two binding holes bored into one of the long borders. It was either part of a notebook of tablets or a single tablet: holes and strings might serve to hang it on the wall or to suspend it from the hand. About the content of the *recto* Boak wrote, “the writing consists of twenty lines... each line contains a number of isolated letters, not grouped in syllables or words... the work of a beginner practicing the forms of the letters.” But an exercise of the kind Boak describes does not appear anywhere else. Exercises involving the letters of the alphabet usually consist of a few letters repeated or a few letters practiced randomly on the writing surface,² without following regular and even lines. When the letters are in continuous horizontal lines, they always follow an alphabetical order and consist of a series of alphabets written one after the other.³ An examination of the photo, and especially an autoptic inspection of the Michigan tablet itself, confirmed that the exercise consisted of a list of names. It should be taken into account that the ink of the text on this side of the tablet is quite faded, and a direct examination of the tablet is necessary for solving dubious cases.

¹ See A. E. R. Boak, “Greek and Coptic Tablets at Michigan,” *CP* 16 (1921) 191-92. R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996, henceforth cited as Cribiore 1996) no. 118.

² See Cribiore 1996, nos. 23 and 36.

³ See, e.g., the back of tablet 160 in Cribiore 1996.

Side 1 of the tablet is written parallel to the short sides to take advantage of its whole length. A column of 21 proper names occupies the left portion of the tablet. This list of names is followed by another name that was separated from the rest by a top and a bottom *paragraphos* or *quasi-paragraphos*.⁴ This last name, Tullios, is likely to be the name of the student who wrote the exercise. It is not unusual for the name of a student to appear either at the beginning or at the end of his work.⁵ A papyrus in the British Library, *P.Lond.* III 737,⁶ curiously, presents the same combination as in our tablet: a mathematical exercise and a list of names. The list, which is written on the back, contains 3 names plus a fourth one separated from the rest by a long horizontal line. It appears that the student who signed his exercise was uncertain about his own name, Μαξιμιανός, since he wrote Αμξιμιανος, reversing the first two letters.

The right portion of side 1 of our tablet is occupied by two drawings⁷ plus the date of the exercise. The first drawing represents a head with spiky hair. The second depicts a whole stick figure with large round eyes and a body covered by the same short strokes that are used to represent the hair on the head. Between the drawings the date, Χοιάκ κ, is written. Dates by the day of the month are more common on teachers' models, but occasionally occur in exercises written by students.⁸ They usually appear together with the indication of the day of the week according to the planetary dating system, a favorite of students.⁹ It is possible that the planetary name of the day was written on the tablet, but is not visible anymore. In the top right corner there seem to be traces of

⁴ The two horizontal lines which isolate the last name are a little too long for a standard *paragraphos*. About the term *quasi-paragraphos* coined by Eric Turner and the frequent use of this punctuation sign by students, see Cribiore 1996, 81-82.

⁵ For students' names occurring in exercises, see Cribiore 1996, 147-48, and note 48.

⁶ See *MPER NS* XV 150.

⁷ About drawings accompanying school exercises, see Cribiore 1996, 80-81.

⁸ See nos. 210 and 386 in Cribiore 1996.

⁹ See Cribiore 1996 pp. 89-90.

letters, which are perhaps remnants of a previous exercise that was washed off.

Boak dated this tablet to the fourth century AD. The writing, however, appears later, from the fifth or sixth century. Some of the letters, such as the v-shaped *upsilon* or *mu* with a broad middle curve, can be compared to the Pindar codex, *P.Oxy.* XIII 1614, which was dated to V or VI AD by E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (London 1987, 2nd ed.) 52, 23, and to the second half of the fifth century by G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period* (London 1987) 48, 20b.

Side 1

- | | | |
|----|--|-------|
| 1 | Εὐριπ[
Γεώργιος
Φοιβάμμων
Μηννίκ[| |
| 5 | Ἰοάνης
Εὐδέμων
Μάριος
Ἀπολλῶς
Βίκτωρ | |
| 10 | Μαρκέλλος
Πτο[.]ει[
Ἀπακύρι\ | |
| | Ἀρεὺς
Πέτρος | |
| 15 | Πετεῦρις
Ὠρίων
Μνασι[| Χοιάκ |
| | Πε...ι | κ |
| | Ἀπία | |
| 20 | Ἀπίων
Ἄρων | |

Τύλλιος

Notes

1 The most common name starting in this way is Εὐριπᾶς for Εὐριπᾶς, as in e.g. *P.Oxy.* VII 1025.7. A possibility could also be Εὐριπίδης, which only occurs (in documentary contexts) in *P.Vindob.Tandem.* 15.3.103 and *SB VIII* 9861a.4.

4 An exact parallel to this name does not appear anywhere. The name could be Μηνίκιος, as in *SB IV* 7342 5rp.10. A more popular name could be Μινίκιος as in e.g. *P.Berl.Zill.* 3.1 or *P.Fam.Tebt.* 15.4.109. A feminine form of this name occurs occasionally, Μινικία, but this list seems to include only masculine names.

5 Ἰοάνης (for Ἰωάννης) is only used in *SB I* 5918; Ἰωάννης occurs in, e.g., *P.Bad.* 2.35.

6 The name Εὐδαίμων is often spelled in this way, e.g. *P.Cair.Isid.* 10 rp. 2.43 or 5.94.

7 The name Μάριος is often present in papyri. It cannot be completely excluded that this name should be read Μαρίων as in *P.Oxy.* XII 1446.53.

8 This name is quite common. A reading Ἀπόλλων is not excluded.

10 This name appears several times in papyri—see e.g. *P.Oxy.* L 3581.1 (IV-V AD) and *P.Panop.* 27.12 (323 AD)—from II to VI AD.

11 If the missing letters after Πτο are indeed two, the only suitable name would be Πτολλείων (also spelled Πτολλίων). But much is uncertain; possible readings could also be Πτόλεις or Πτόλλεις.

12 At the end of this name there seems to be a diagonal stroke, maybe to indicate an abbreviation. The presence of the name Ἀπακύρος in the list is a further indication that απα in this case was not a title, but a component of the name itself. About this, see T. Derda and E. Wipszycka, "L'emploi des titres *Abba*, *Apa* et *Papas* dans l'Égypte byzantine," *JJP* 24 (1994) 52-53. The name Απακυρε, also spelled Απακιρε, occurs in Greek papyri (see *P.Prag.* 77) and

especially in Coptic papyri, e.g., *P.Lond.Copt.* 452, nr. 1076, and 1077. For examples of occurrences in Coptic school exercises, see *MPER NS XVIII* 95, 96 and 101.

13 This name occurs a few times, as in *PSI* 793. Maybe the name should be read 'Αλεϋς, as e.g. in *SB V* 7633.5.

15 Πετεϋρις occurs frequently, as in *P.Oxy.* XIX 2235.4.

17 Several names start with these letters. The most likely hypothesis is that the second part of the name is obliterated. We should also entertain the possibility that this could be the name Μνῶς, which, however, occurs in Ptolemaic or early Roman papyri (e.g. *SB I* 1097.1, I AD).

18 These are the only visible letters. It is difficult to know how much is missing at the end; this name could be Πεκϋς, *exempli gratia*.

22 The name Τύλλιος occurs a few times, e.g. in *P.Mich.* XV 705.5.

Side 2

$\overline{\alpha\alpha}$	$\overline{\iota\iota}$	$\overline{\pi\pi}$	/α
$\overline{\beta\beta}$			
$\overline{\gamma\gamma}$	$\overline{\kappa\kappa}$	$\overline{\phi\phi}$	/β
$\overline{\delta\delta}$	$\overline{\lambda\lambda}$	$\overline{\rho\rho}$	/γ
$\overline{\epsilon\epsilon}$	$\overline{\mu\mu}$	$\overline{\varsigma\varsigma}$	/δ
$\overline{\zeta\zeta}$	$\overline{\nu\nu}$	$\overline{\tau\tau}$	/ε
$\overline{\xi\xi}$		$\overline{\upsilon\upsilon}$	/ς
$\overline{\eta\eta}$	$\overline{\xi\xi}$	$\overline{\varphi\varphi}$	/ζ
$\overline{\theta\theta}$	$\overline{\omicron\omicron}$	$\overline{\chi\chi}$	/η
		$\overline{\psi\psi}$	/θ
		$\overline{\omega\omega}$.
		$\overline{\gamma\gamma}$	α[$\overline{\gamma}$]α

On this side another student wrote parallel to the longer sides of the tablet and left more than half of the surface blank on the right. When he used this side, the bottom left corner of the tablet was already broken off, as is shown by the grouping of the numbers with the first two columns shorter than the other two. Boak remarked that "a line was drawn beneath each successive pair of numbers," but it seems more likely that horizontal supralineations were drawn to show that these were numerals. The supralineations, in fact, start on top of the numbers of the first three columns. They are not present in the fourth column because for numbers 1,000 and higher a short bottom stroke was traced to the left of each. Horizontal supralineations were originally used to indicate ordinal numbers, but over time their usage was extended to all numbers.

As a rule, horizontal lines of separation were drawn to divide mathematical operations from one another.¹⁰ This mathematical exercise is most unusual in so far as the numbers from 1 to 900 are written twice, while the remaining ones are not duplicated. Elsewhere, the duplication of numbers like that present in the first three columns is only found in multiplications,¹¹ except that in this case the product was not written down. The most likely hypothesis is that the numbers from 1 to 900 were written twice only in order to practice them.

Although Boak says that in this exercise the numbers were written as far as 9,000, it seems certain that the exercise reached 10,000. First of all it is more common to write numbers from 1 to 10,000.¹² Then, underneath and on the side of the fourth column there are traces of writing. What Boak read as $\alpha.\tau\alpha$ seems to be the indication of 1 $\mu\upsilon\pi\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. Probably the student wrote the symbol for 10,000 underneath the fourth column—where it is not visible any more—and then wrote α . He proceeded to write the whole thing again: he erased his first attempt and wrote ($\mu\upsilon\pi\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$) α .

¹⁰ See, e.g., *MPER NS XV 154*.

¹¹ See, e.g., *MPER NS XV 152* fragment B col. 1 where each number is multiplied by itself, thus: $\alpha\alpha$ α , $\beta\beta$ δ and so on.

¹² See, e.g., *MPER NS XV 144*.

The student who wrote on side 2 of the tablet is not the same as the one who wrote on the other side. Although Boak remarked that on both sides “the letters are irregular and badly formed,” there is a considerable difference in the writing capacities of these two students. The writer of the list of names is not merely a beginner practicing with letter shapes but is capable of tracing confident letters that are sometimes ligatured. He has a “rapid” hand that degenerates a little toward the bottom. He had certainly been exposed to much writing in order to improve his hand before he reached this level.¹³ By contrast, the writer of side 2 is a real beginner and shows an “alphabetic” hand with letters strikingly different in size¹⁴ and shape. It should be noted that it is not unusual for different students to work on the same tablet, since it is likely that tablets used in class did not belong to individual students but to their teachers.¹⁵

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¹³ See Cribiore 1996, 129-137.

¹⁴ See especially μ and ν in the second column. The difference in the size of the letters causes each column to contain a different amount of numerals.

¹⁵ About this, see Cribiore 1996, 54-55.

(to Cribiore, “A School Tablet...”)

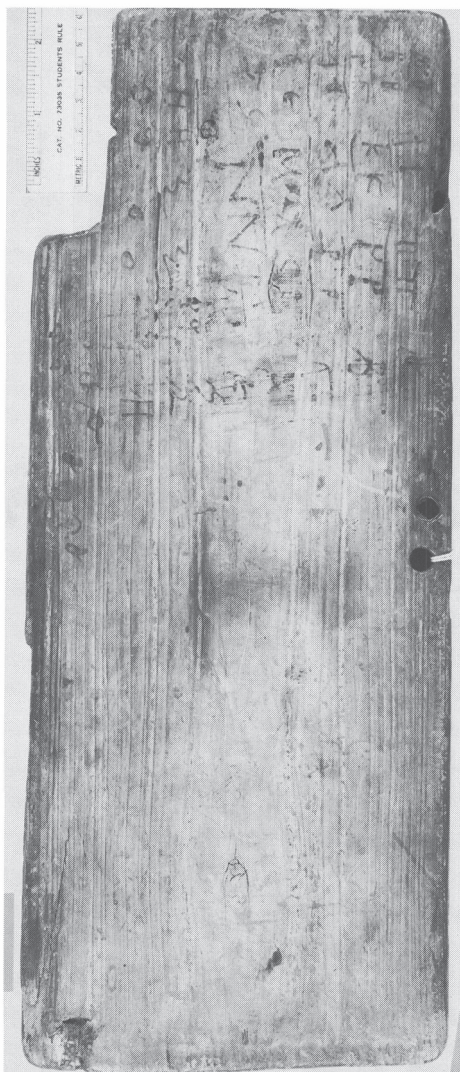
Plate 21



T. Mich. inv. 764, Side 1
(Photograph courtesy of the Papyrology Collection,
University Michigan Library)

Plate 22

(to Cribiore, “A School Tablet...”)



T. Mich. inv. 764, Side 2
(Photograph courtesy of the Papyrology Collection,
University Michigan Library)

ΣΗΚΩΜΑΤΑ—"Standard" Measures for Decanting Wine

In the preparation of an article on empty wine jars (κουφά), my eye was drawn to the word *σηκώματα*, and from the various interpretations given to the term, there seemed to be no clear understanding of what its function or place was within the Egyptian wine industry.¹ In many documents the word was merely transliterated; in others it was translated as "jars" or "wine containers," but in no instance was it treated as a special kind of jar that contained a standard measure of wine expressed in terms of *xestai* (= *sextarii*). There is no doubt that the word *σήκωμα* means a standard measure of capacity or weight (v. *LSJ*, *σήκωμα*), but in its application as a measure of a specific number of *xestai* of wine, the word *σήκωμα* was used in Egypt to denote a measuring jar for decanting wine from storage jars in wine cellars into smaller containers. As a specific measure of capacity, the *σήκωμα* is not to be equated with jars that served as a general containers of wine or another substance. (e.g., a *knidion*).²

In a recent article, I published an account of another kind of specialized jar that was used in the production of wine which has relevance to the *σήκωμα*.³ A jar called in Greek a *Sabitha* or a *Sapation* was used in Ascalon, Gaza, and Azotus to collect the unfermented juice that ran off the wine-press floor into a collection basin, which was then transferred to storage jars where it could complete the fermentation process. Like the Egyptian *σηκώματα*, it

¹ See L. Casson, "Wine Measures and Prices in Byzantine Egypt," *TAPA* 70 (1939) 8, which is cited by a number of editors. However, Casson's interest centered mainly on wine prices (*contra* Segrè) rather than standard measures.

² V. Grace, "Standard Pottery Containers," *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8 (1949) 175-80, makes the point that various local standards existed for containers, and in the same place a standard jar was at different capacity at different periods.

³ P. Mayerson, "Another Unreported Ascalonian Jar: The SABITHA/SAPATION," *Israel Exploration Journal* 46 (1996) 258-261.

was not only a jar, but also a measure expressed in *xestai*. The text is given in Epiphanius' treatise on weights and measures (*De mensuribus et ponderibus*), of which we have two versions, Syriac and Greek. Of the two, the Syriac provides a fuller description of the vessel used to draw off the must from the wine-press. The translation of the Syriac version is as follows:

(As for) the *shâfithâ* this is a Syriac term which occurs as a measure among the people of Gaza and Ashkelon and the rest of the seacoast called the Shefelah. Hence in Gaza and Ashkelon they call the jar which is the *shâfithâ* the *sapation* which is translated "the drawing vessel of the wine press," for with the measure they draw out and carry wine. But among the people of Ashkelon it consists of 22 *xestai*, among those of Azotus 18 *xestai*, and among those of Gaza 14 *xestai*.

A further examination of the Syriac word for jar (*qûltâ*), indicated that it was wide-mouthed vessel, as it had to be in order to collect a substantial measure of must (18 to 22 *xestai*) for transfer to a storage jar.

The relevance of the Sabitha to the *χήκωμα* is that they represent two ends of a process. The Sabitha, a large wide-mouthed jar, probably with handles, collected and measured the unfermented juice coming off the treading floor and decanted it into storage jars. The *χήκωμα*, on the other hand, was a measuring jar that was used to decant a stated number (e.g. 5, 6, or 8) of *xestai* of wine from storage jars (*pithoi*) into other containers; and, like the Sabitha or an ordinary water-jar, it most likely had a handle (or handles) and a wide mouth to facilitate drawing off in one motion a specific measure of wine from a storage jar. As set measures, both the Sabitha and the *χήκωμα* were used to compute, in terms of *xestai*, the production of a particular wine-press or the amount of wine sold or distributed.

With the above in mind, let us first turn to *P.Wash.Univ.* II 105.1-2, to illustrate the decanting process from a storage jar in terms of *κηκώματα*. The text reads ἡντίλησα δὲ τὸν πείθον τοῦ Δαυεῖτ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς τὴν γεουχικὴν ῥύσιν. κηκ(ώματα) ρι... ("in regard to the

estate's vintage, I have decanted the storage jar [*pithos*] of David and others. 110 *σηκώματα*").⁴

Two documents from Oxyrynchus give us some idea of the standard used in measuring out *xestai* of wine, presumably from storage jars. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1896, an agreement to supply wine in which, according to the editor, a group of men undertook to "pay 3000 jars of wine for the coming vintage." Lines 19-20 speak of οἴνου γεουχικὰ σηκώματα ὀκτάξεστα τρισχίλια, which the editor translates as "3,000 jars of the wine of the estate, each containing eight *sextarii*... total 3,000 8-*sext.* jars of the wine of the estate." The Greek reads literally "3000 8-*sext.* estate-sekomata of wine."⁵

There is a significant difference between these two readings. The "8-*sext.* estate-σηκώματα" was the estate's or owner's measuring instrument (i.e. a 8-*sext.* jar) used to decant wine from storage jars. The 3,000 represented the number of 8-*sext.* measures taken out of the estate's wine cellar. If those 3,000 8-*sext.* measures, which total 24,000 *sext.*, were decanted into, say, 4-chous jars, each jar holding 24 *sext.*, then the number of 4-chous jars would amount to 1000, each holding c. 13 liters of wine.⁶ Looking at it in another way, an 8 *sext.* σηκώματα of wine would represent 4.4 liters (8 x 0.547 l.), or 1.25 gallons, a little more than a gallon container of milk. It is difficult to conceive of 3000 gallon-size clay wine jars when the common wine jar, the *keramion*, could hold between 4 and

⁴ Note that the editor (p. 197) believes that the document "might be better designated an account of jars, as it is a number of these, rather than quantities of wine, that are reckoned." The word ἀντλέω is not common. See other forms in *BGU* IV 1049.11, *P.David* 4.10 (= *P.Lugd.Bat.* XVII 17.4.10), and in Epiphanius in my article (*ibid.* p. 259). Cf. Horace *Sat.* 2.2.58: *nisi mutatum parcit defundere vinum*.

⁵ The document also states (22) that if they fail to pay, they agree to pay for "each knidian..." and then it breaks off. On the basis of this statement, and citing 1920.5, n. (which in turn cites 1720); 1951; and cf. 1893.14, n., the editor states that κνιδίων "apparently here synonymous with σηκώματος ὀκτάξεστου." This is a case of one document chasing another, but as 1893 makes clear, the equation of κνιδίων and διπλοῦν, or vice-versa, does not hold since they are not standard measures. However, see *LSJ* where κνιδίων is defined as a measure of wine.

⁶ For the production of large quantities of the 4-chous jar, see H. Cockle, "Pottery Manufacture in Roman Egypt: A New Papyrus," *JRS* 7 (1980) 87-97, summarizing three documents, *P.Oxy.* L 3595-3597.

8 choes (13 - 26 liters).⁷ In short, the number of jars would depend on the size and type of jar into which the wine was decanted, not upon the decanting jar.

The other document, *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3512, a sale of wine in which the buyer agreed that for a set price he would receive (11) "sixty-three sekomata of wine measured by the estate-sekoma (οἴνου cηκώματων τῷ γεουχικῷ cηκώματι ἐξήκοντα τρία)." By this contractual arrangement, the buyer has agreed, as in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1896, that the estate's own measuring jar would be used in decanting 63 sekomata of wine into his jars. The number of *xestai* per cηκώμα is not stated. (If it were 8, the total number of *xestai* would be 504.) As for jars (14), the buyer was required to provide the empties (κοῦφα). The kind of jar he was to have provided for his wine is not stated.

These two documents make clear that the measure used for decanting wine was not "by the public measure" or by another standard, but by the wine dealer's cηκώμα. Similarly, in *P.David* 4.10-11 (= *P.Lugd.Bat.* XVII 17.4), a Ptolemaic document dealing with a loan of wine, the borrower has agreed to pay back a loan with new, good wine "by the measure which I use for the decanting wine" (μέτρῳ ᾧ ἂν τὴν ἐξαντηλσιν ποιῶμαν).

The number of *xestai* in a cηκώματα need not, as in *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3512, be spelled out when the measure is known and accepted, as it is today when purchasing a bottle of wine or a container of milk. In an account, *P.Laur.* IV 185, one to 35 cηκώματα of an unknown number of *xestai* were doled out to 18 individuals.⁸ In *P.Harr.* I 100, 2 to 12 cηκώματα were paid out to individuals on an estate. The advantage to the purchaser or the recipient of decanted wine was the assurance that he was not getting must off the treading floor, but wine that had matured and was free of dregs.

⁷ See Cockle, p. 95, citing Wilcken and *P.Petrie* 3.70 (a).

⁸ A late document, *P.Edfou* I 3, an agreement to purchase wine for a price, does not follow the usual formula, but calls for "58 κόλοβα jars filled (ἄκουφα) with the *xestai*-measure (ἐξέτω μέτρῳ)." The common word for empty jars (κοῦφα) yields a rare antonym "full" (jars).

According to the documents, *κηχώματα* contained 5, 6, or 8 *xestai*.⁹ Translated into liters, they would represent 2.7, 3.3, or 4.4 liters per measure. As jars of those measures, they would be quite suitable for decanting wine from storage jars, and, in the process, calculating the price for a desired number of *xestai*.

If we are to judge from a sounding of the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri, *κηχώματα* of wine appear in 17 documents of the Byzantine period. Other than these, a more general search of the texts on PHI CD-ROM 6 yields several early Attic inscriptions, the most interesting one of which is *IG ii (2).1013.8*, dated to the end of the second century B.C. According to the inscription, magistrates were required by law to provide "κύμβολα *κηχώματα*" for weights and measures (πρός τε τὰ ὑργὰ καὶ τὰ ξηρὰ καὶ τὰ *κταθμὰ*) for merchants in the market place, for workshops, for retail shops, for wine-cellars (*οἰνώειν*) and for storehouses. The only group singled out by specific trade were dealers in wine. In late Roman Egypt the word *κηχώματα* appears to have been picked up by owners of wine cellars. They dispensed wine from their holdings using their own measure, a jar that held a fixed number of *xestai* (*οἴνου κηχώματα -ξεστα*). The modern practice of can be observed in ordering alcoholic beverages in a restaurant or bar. The number of ounces that go into a martini, a glass of wine, or a stein of beer is determined by the owner; the buyer accepts the owner's *κηχώματα*.¹⁰

As a coda to the above, a search for the use of the word *κήκωμα* as a liquid measure in the Roman world at large took an unexpected turn. As expected, the term was found outside of Egypt, but only as measure of weight, not as a liquid measure. In the literary sources (see Stephanus *TGL*), *κήκωμα* appears as a weight, literally and figuratively, in Euripides *Heracl.* 690, in Polybius *Hist.* 8.5.10.1; 18.24.5.4; 18.29.3.2 and in Phalaris., *Ep.* 57. It also makes

⁹ See Casson, (above, n. 1), 8.

¹⁰ In the era before packaging and bottling, this writer can recall going to the grocery store with a small pail to buy milk. The grocer, using a quart or a pint measure attached to a metal rod, "decanted" the requested amount from his *pithos*, a large milkcan. No one would think of bringing his own measure; it was taken as a matter of trust that the grocer's measure was reasonably accurate.

an appearance as a weight in Latin as *sacoma* in Vitruvius *Arch.* 9.pr.9.7-8; 9.8.9.1.¹¹

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¹¹ For its rare appearance in Egypt as a measure of weight, see *P.Col.* VIII 240.12 and *P.Zen.Pestm.* 12.6.20.

Bandits, Real and Imagined, in Greco-Roman Egypt

Banditry was a fact of life, and death, in the Greco-Roman world.¹ That both bandits and their image were deeply embedded as an inevitable and ubiquitous feature in ancient society, is clear from their appearance in a wide variety of sources: in the historians, novelists, orators and other writers of "literature," in the legal codes, inscriptions and, the subject of this article, in the papyri from Egypt.² Of course bandits do not always appear in the same guise, and we need to be sure that we know what we are talking about with the term "bandit." Apart from an occasional appearance as a mild, almost endearing, term of abuse, in the modern age it usually means something like the following: "He or she is someone who engages in property theft as part of a group. This theft is sometimes combined with violence against the owners of that property and is generally associated with rural rather than urban areas, and with direct confrontation rather than stealth."³ In sharp contrast,

¹ The most important studies, which relate to the Roman period (when our sources are fullest), are B. D. Shaw, "Bandits in the Roman Empire," *P&P* 105 (1984) 3-52; B. D. Shaw, "The Bandit," in A. Giardina (ed.), *The Romans* (Chicago 1993) 300-41. There are valuable collections of material in R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (Cambridge, Mass. 1967, repr. 1992) App. B, 255-68; M. Hengel, *The Zealots. Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 AD* (Edinburgh 1989) 24-46.

² For the types of crime reported in the papyri, see B. Baldwin, "Crime and Criminals in Greco-Roman Egypt," *Aegyptus* 43 (1963) 256-63; H.-J. Drexhage, "Einbruch, Diebstahl und Straßenraub im römischen Ägypten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verhältnisse in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten n. Chr.," in I. Weiler (ed.), *Soziale Randgruppen und Außenseiter im Altertum* (Graz 1988) 313-23.

³ S. Brunk, "The Sad Situation of Civilians and Soldiers': The Banditry of Zapatismo in the Mexican Revolution," *AHR* 101 (1996) 334. A briefer definition is offered by Richard Slatta in R. W. Slatta (ed.), *Bandidos: The Varieties of Latin American Banditry* (New York 1987) 1: "we use the term bandit to mean persons (nearly always men) who worked in groups to steal property or rustle livestock."

however, the Romans (and to a lesser extent the Greeks) rarely limited themselves in this way, but used the word (ληστής / *latro*) to cover a much larger range of applications than we usually associate with it: mercenary, political adversary, mutineer, usurper, revolutionary, mountain-man, barbarian.⁴ Indeed from the point of view of the state and its law-abiding citizens, anyone who refused to integrate, especially someone who offered violent opposition to established authority, could be designated a bandit.⁵ This makes the task of analysis potentially a difficult one: both the small brigand group in Egypt who attacked the two servants of Dionysius son of Heracleides on the road between Crocodilopolis and Oxyrhyncha in 152 BC (*P.Erasm.* I, 2) and the more famous (and problematic) Bacaudae of Gaul, are termed "bandits," in spite of the fact that they have very little in common, and can scarcely be regarded as the same phenomenon.⁶

⁴ See especially, G. Barbieri, "Latrones," in E. de Ruggiero (ed.), *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romana* 4.15 (1947) 460-6; R. MacMullen, "The Roman Concept Robber-Pretender," *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* x (1963) 221-5; L. Flam-Zuckermann, "À propos d'une inscription de Suisse (*CIL* XIII, 5010): étude du phénomène de brigandage dans l'empire romain," *Latomus* 29 (1970) 456-8; A. J. L. van Hooff, "Ancient Robbers: Reflections behind the Facts," *AncSoc* 19 (1988) 111-15; Z. Rubin, "Mass Movements in Late Antiquity—Appearances and Realities," in I. Malkin, Z. Rubinsohn (eds.), *Leaders and Masses in the Roman World* (Leiden 1993) 129-187. For the particular opposition cultivator, plainsman, law-abiding citizen/non-cultivator, mountain man, brigand, see P. Briant, "Brigandage, dissidence et conquête en Asie achéménide et hellénistique," *DHA* 2 (1976) 170; B. D. Shaw, "Bandit Highlands and Lowland Peace: The Mountains of Isauria-Cilicia," *JESHO* 33 (1990) 200.

⁵ Briant (above n.4) 184; Shaw 1984 (above n.1) 6.

⁶ The Bacaudae have been much discussed: for the debate and bibliography, see, for instance, J. F. Drinkwater, "The Bacaudae of Fifth-Century Gaul," in J. F. Drinkwater, H. Elton (eds.), *Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?* (Cambridge 1992) 208-17. Hugh Elton's division of ancient bandits into three types is helpful: amateur bandits, who perhaps only on occasion resorted to robbery or rustling in order to supplement their income; professional bandit groups, who lived solely on the proceeds of banditry; and "barbarian bandits," mountain tribes like the Salassi, Cietae and Baquates. I am grateful to Hugh Elton for showing me the text of his article "Bandits, Cities and Aristocrats in Roman Cilicia and Isauria" before publication.

By far the most influential contribution to the study of banditry in general has been that of the English historian Eric Hobsbawm, who devised "Social Banditry" as an analytical category. It is this model which I wish to use—with caution, as it has proved highly controversial in certain aspects—in a detailed examination of the papyrological evidence on banditry from Egypt. There is a danger in this sort of procedure of imposing the details of a modern theory on the ancient evidence. It can easily be avoided, however, by "sticking firmly to the principle that comparison cannot supply the primary evidence we lack, but rather can only serve to provoke hypotheses to explain the evidence we have."⁷ Hobsbawm treated the subject in different works written at different times, without presenting any obviously canonical definition or version of the theory, so it might be well to try to summarize his main points.⁸

(1) Social banditry is a purely rural phenomenon, and cannot exist without peasant discontent. Pastoral economies, particularly in highland areas, are far more bandit-prone than tillage ones, but banditry flourishes, as you would expect, in remote and inaccessible places at the edges of society, where there is a gap between the area dominated by the organs of state control and the actual geographical boundaries of the state. Bandits are attracted by major highways and routes of communication.

(2) Hobsbawm identifies social banditry as a primitive form of organised social protest, to be distinguished clearly from the practices of communities for whom raiding is a normal way of life, like the Bedouin, and from those of common robbers. The degree of social protest, however, is very limited. Bandits do not provide a programme for peasant society, but a form of self-help to escape it in certain circumstances. They protest "not against the fact that peasants are poor and oppressed, but against the

⁷ See P. Cartledge, "Rebels and *Sambos* in Classical Greece," in P. Cartledge, F. D. Harvey (eds.), *Crux. Essays in Greek History Presented to G. E. M. de Ste Croix on his 75th Birthday* (Exeter and London 1985) 20-1.

⁸ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (3rd ed., Manchester 1971) 13-29; "Social Banditry," in H. A. Landsberger (ed.), *Rural Protest, Peasant Movements and Social Change* (London 1974) 142-57; *Bandits* (2nd ed., London 1985).

fact that they are sometimes excessively poor and oppressed.”⁹ Social banditry is often a precursor to more conscious, sophisticated and ambitious forms of peasant agitation.

(3) Social bandits are “social” in the sense that in the public perception they still belong—at least to a certain extent—to the society from which they come. The perception of bandits as something other than common criminals is critical for Hobsbawm. They are regarded by the state as criminals, but by the ordinary people as “heroes, as champions, avengers, fighters for justice... as men to be admired, helped and supported.”¹⁰ Social bandits enjoy the support of their village or local community, and rely on their help. People do not assist the police in catching them, but actually protect them.

(4) Social bandits right wrongs. They take from the rich and give to the poor. They do not steal from their own people, a course of action that would turn them into common criminals. They limit their killing (mostly—there is a strand of more gratuitously violent social banditry) to self-defence and justified revenge. They are the defenders and champions of the ordinary people. This is the Robin Hood figure, and it has proved one of the most controversial areas of the theory.

(5) Social bandits share the basic values of the peasant society from which they come. This is often evident in the way a man becomes a bandit. Hobsbawm is perhaps not altogether clear on the genesis of a bandit, but he does identify one very common route into banditry: a man commits an act that is regarded as a crime by the state, but not by the local people—an honourable revenge killing, for instance—and is forced to take to the hills. Hobsbawm also talks of harvest failure, epidemic, war, administrative breakdown and general pauperization as conducive to social banditry, but curiously—at least in the Egyptian context, as we shall see—he does not mention high levels of taxation as a factor.

(6) Most social bandits are agricultural workers, that is, men who are outside the framework of constant social control or the

⁹ Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels* (above n.8) 24.

¹⁰ Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (above n.8) 17.

supervision of the ruling group; but deserters and army veterans, or anyone not yet absorbed or reabsorbed into the rural economy, are also an important source of recruits.

(7) Social bandits are almost always young men, and unmarried.

(8) They come to the end of their career either by being absorbed back into the society which they never fully left (and in Roman and Byzantine times it became something of a commonplace that bandits turn to the religious life¹¹), or by betrayal, often in connection with a woman (usually somebody else's wife).

(9) Social bandits are invulnerable and invisible. They traditionally move at will around the countryside, cloaked in an impenetrable disguise.

This theory offered an exciting new interpretation of the evidence, and has been applied in many different historical contexts, both ancient and modern.¹² In effect Hobsbawm invented a new subject,

¹¹ See, for instance, Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* 5-6: "Martin grieved for him, since, as he was practising banditry, he was undeserving of God's mercy. And embarking on an evangelical disputation, he proclaimed the word of God to the bandit. What more can I say? The bandit believed, and following Martin he returned to the way, praying that Martin would beseech God on his behalf. Later he was seen to be leading a religious life." On banditry and religion, see, among others, L. Cracco-Ruggini, "Bagaudi e santi innocenti: un' avventura fra demonizzazione e martirio," in E. Gabba (ed.), *Tria corda. Scritti in onore di Arnaldo Momigliano* (Como 1983) 121-42; A. Giardina, "Banditi e santi: un aspetto del folklore gallico tra Tarda Antichità e Medioevo," *Athenaeum* 61 (1983) 374-89.

¹² In the Classical world perhaps most attention has been focussed on the thorny problem of Josephus' "bandits"—political freedom fighters or just plain bandits? See, for instance, S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome. His Vita and Development as a Historian* (Leiden 1979) 211-14; R. A. Horsley, "Josephus and the Bandits," *JSJ* 10 (1979) 37-63; T. Rajak, *Josephus* (London 1983) 84-5; M. Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee AD 132-212* (New Jersey 1983) 40; B. Isaac, "Bandits in Judaea and Arabia," *HSCP* 88 (1984) 171-203; Hengel (above n.1) 24-46; S. Freyne, "Bandits in Galilee: A Contribution to the Study of Social Conditions in First-Century Palestine," in J. Neusner et al. (eds.), *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism. Essays in Tribute to Howard Clark Kee* (Philadelphia 1988) 50-68; B. D. Shaw, "Tyrants, Bandits and Kings: Personal Power in Josephus," *JJS* 44 (1993) 176-204; S.

"bandit studies." It has attracted a great deal of attention, not all of it favourable: "The social bandit's career in Academe has somewhat paralleled his life under the greenwood tree. Introduced by Professor Hobsbawm, he was initially welcomed, even feted, and he put in many appearances in academic company; but then (inevitably after such uncritical acceptance) some academics grew leery, and the recent trend—especially among experts—has been to qualify, deemphasize and even deny his role."¹³ There are perhaps three areas that have proved particularly problematic.¹⁴

First is the emphasis that Hobsbawm laid on the closeness of the links between bandits and peasants. Anton Blok was the first to question this connection, and argue that Hobsbawm "obscures the significance of the links which bandits maintain with established power-holders."¹⁵ This objection has surfaced time and again, nowhere more forcefully presented than in Karen Barkey's fascinating demonstration of the important and dynamic relationship of large bandit groups in the 17th century Ottoman empire, not with the peasantry, but with the central government.¹⁶ And in the context of Latin American banditry, alliances between bandits and local landed elites (or even government officials) are far more

Schwartz, "Josephus in Galilee: Rural Patronage and Social Breakdown," in F. Parente, J. Sievers (eds.), *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period* (Leiden 1994) 297-306.

¹³ A. Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1986) I, 353-4. Probably the most systematic analysis of, and challenge to, Hobsbawm's work is Richard Slatta's collection of essays: Slatta (above n.3); but see also the useful critique of G. M. Joseph, "On the Trail of Latin American Bandits: A Reexamination of Peasant Resistance," *Latin American Research Review* 25 (1990) 7-18.

¹⁴ I pass over the concern of some modern historians to challenge Hobsbawm's view that banditry must be pre-capitalist, or pre-industrial: see, for instance, P. O'Malley, "Social Bandits, Modern Capitalism and the Traditional Peasantry: A Critique of Hobsbawm," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 6 (1979) 489-501.

¹⁵ A. Blok, "The Peasant and the Brigand: Social Banditry Reconsidered," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 14 (1972) 502. As Joseph (above n.13) 12 points out, however, Hobsbawm was more aware than many have allowed that social bandits have ties in both directions, towards both the poor and the rich.

¹⁶ K. Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats. The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Cornell 1994).

frequently attested than links with the peasants.¹⁷ In the ancient world too, Hopwood, for instance, has shown how in Cilicia, famous for its banditry, order was maintained very largely through the patronage of bandits by the powerful.¹⁸ Shaw, too, demonstrates more generally in the Roman empire the "consistent patronal links between Roman *domini* and brigands."¹⁹

The second main objection concerns Hobsbawm's notion of bandits as altruistic, social reformers. Latin American bandits "kept their gains or shared them with elite patrons, but not with the rural masses. Token gestures of largesse were sometimes made by a bandit to peasants, but for the most part bandits, not the poor, profited from banditry."²⁰ Modern banditry at least, is often motivated by desire for economic gain—"better work at higher pay," as Lewin puts it²¹—and undertaken in the context of political factionalism or village feuding, not social protest.²² There has been a distinct move back towards a view expressed as long ago as 1930: "Despite popular sentiment, the true nature of the bandit is not that of the social reformer. He is essentially selfish and has no fundamental interest in rectifying social ills."²³

¹⁷ "The close ties of class and camaraderie that theoretically bind social bandits and peasants together do not surface in the Latin American context": Joseph (above n.13) 10. For emphasis of the same point, see Slatta (above n.3) 192-3; Brunk (above n.3) 333; A. Blok, *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village 1860-1960* (Oxford 1974) 108-9.

¹⁸ K. Hopwood, "Bandits, Elites and Rural Order," in A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society* (London 1989) 171-87.

¹⁹ Shaw 1993 (above n.1) 324. See further W. Nippel, *Public Order in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge 1995) 102-3. Both Shaw and Hopwood (above n.18) 182 n.2 cite the various laws that assume the involvement of élite members in the activities of bandits.

²⁰ Slatta (above n.3) 195. For the poor as the particular target of bandits in 19th century Morocco, see D. M. Hart, *Banditry in Islam: Case Studies from Morocco, Algeria and the Pakistan North West Frontier* (Menas Press 1987) 19.

²¹ L. Lewin, "The Oligarchical Limitations of Social Banditry in Brazil: The Case of the 'Good' Thief, Antonio Silvino," *P&P* 82 (1979) 139.

²² Brunk (above n.3) 332-3; 338.

²³ C. Beals, "Brigandage," in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* II (1930) 694.

The third, and for present purposes, most important criticism of Hobsbawm is directed to his use of source materials, which were mostly the stories and songs of popular culture. "Among the greatest difficulties in analysing banditry historically is the problem of distinguishing myth from social reality."²⁴ Are the stories about bandits an accurate reflection of the way they really behaved? Hobsbawm proceeded directly from myth to reality without justifying the procedure, and perhaps originally without realizing that he was interpreting "the myth of banditry as an image of the real patterns of bandit behaviour."²⁵ The fact that he constituted the reality of bandits from legendary and anecdotal material is precisely what suggests the possible benefit of examining Egyptian banditry. For while we have from the ancient world the same sort of evidence as Hobsbawm used, Egypt provides us with a qualitatively different type of source material in the documentary papyri: these non-literary and unselfconscious texts offer a rare opportunity to examine the phenomenon of banditry from a completely different source angle.²⁶ There is no difficulty at all in finding social banditry in the *literary* evidence of the ancient world. The famous story of Bulla Felix in Dio (77.10) is a particularly good example. At the beginning of the 3rd century AD Bulla got together a robber band of some six hundred men, and plundered Italy under the very nose of the emperor and army. He was pursued, but "being seen he was not seen, being found he was not found, being caught he was not caught. So much bribery and cleverness did he use." When robbing people he usually took only

²⁴ Slatta (above n.3) 3.

²⁵ J. Winkler, "Lollianos and the Desperadoes," *JHS* 100 (1980) 175. For a clear exposition of this point and a good general critique of Hobsbawm's main weaknesses, see Shaw 1984 (above n.1) 4-5. G. Seal, *The Outlaw Legend. A Cultural Tradition in Britain, America and Australia* (Cambridge 1996) treats banditry within the context of folklore and is not concerned to enter "the arid debate about whether folklore is 'true' or 'historically accurate'" (p. 182). It seems perfectly acceptable to examine the myth of banditry as something in itself, but it is hardly an "arid debate" to examine to what extent this myth reflects social reality.

²⁶ Of course Hobsbawm had some "official" sources—not that official police and judicial records do not pose their own dangers: see Joseph (above n.13) 15; 20-1.

half of what they had, and let them go immediately. He impersonated the governor to rescue two of his men who were about to be thrown to the wild beasts. By impersonation again he also captured a centurion and sent him back with the message: "tell your masters to feed their slaves, so that they do not lead a life of banditry." Eventually Severus engineered treachery: Bulla was having an affair with another man's wife, and she betrayed him. He was arrested and thrown to the beasts.

Clearly there are many of the elements of the Robin Hood figure here, but may we conclude, as Hobsbawm presumably would, that the story reflects the social reality of banditry? The papyrological record should offer us the chance to test the model against documentary evidence. And the model itself, even if controversial, may suggest lines of enquiry and interpretative possibilities on the matter of bandits as they appear in individual papyri.

A useful papyrological starting-point is the series of documents containing complaints of theft or violence carried out by evildoers "in the manner of a bandit" (ληστρικῶ τρόπῳ). In *P.Ryl.* III 127 (AD 29), for instance, Senteus complains to the chief of police that certain people, acting in the manner of bandits (ληστρικῶ τρόπῳ), broke into his house and stole certain things. He suspects and names Papontos and Felicion. This is a common type of document,²⁷ that probably does not tell us a great deal about banditry, but is worth considering briefly. It highlights the first and most obvious problem—terminology. The primary word in Greek for bandit is ληστής, but ancient scribes did not make the sort of sociological distinction we are attempting, and the word, as we saw at the beginning, can mean many other things. And if ληστής is the obvious term to look for, its absence does not mean that we are *not* dealing with banditry. In *P.Fayum* 108 (AD 171), for instance, two pig merchants are attacked and robbed on the road from Theadelphia by "certain evildoers" (κακοῦργοι τινες). Bandits often operate along roads, and this looks like classic bandit activity, but there is no use of the word ληστής.

²⁷ See, for instance, the Rylands petitions: *P.Ryl.* II 127, 129, 130, 134, 136-7, 140, 142, 146, 148 (all first century AD); or the series in the Abinnaeus archive: *P.Abin.* 45, 47, 49, 51, 52, 55 (all 4th century AD).

In this type of text it seems certain that the phrase "in the manner of a bandit" is not a technical description of a bandit raid, but merely a formulaic expression to communicate anger at what has happened. Many of the complaints seem to deal with local pilfering. One analysis of this sort of document notes that it was usually small amounts of money and small items that were stolen.²⁸ In other words the perpetrators were stealing from the poor. This does not sit comfortably with Hobsbawm's social banditry; nor does another point to observe—the readiness of the complainants to "shop" the thieves. Of course by definition the social bandit should be attacking people outside his home territory; and victims, therefore, will feel no sense of social responsibility to protect the bandit who attacked them, if they know who he is. Some of the instances recorded, however, look as though they are taking place within one community, as in the case of Sentheus referred to above (although it is hardly clear whether this concerns local thievery or banditry).

In *SB* VIII 9792 (162 BC) a certain Seos was attacked by "a bandit-group" (ληστήριον) while he was returning to Hermopolis from the Oasis, and his two donkeys and clothes were stolen. This has all the appearances of a classic attack on a traveller by a bandit group. Seos reported the matter to the police and nome officials, and Thortaios was instructed to search out the robbers with armed force (κατὰ κράτος). That the bandits had some local ties may be surmised from Seos' discovery that one of the donkeys had been found in the possession of someone he knew, a man called Asos, whose arrest he now demands. Asos is not necessarily one of the bandits—he could be a fence (*receptator*), or even, conceivably, an innocent purchaser of stolen property—but the matter does seem to have a local connection, and Seos is not slow to point the finger at someone he regards as a guilty party. There is no sign of a reluctance to cooperate with the police. The same sort of thing occurs in a Leipzig document (*P.Lips.* 37 [AD 389]), where Flavius Isidorus denounces and names two shepherds for attacking one of his employees. It is not completely clear what the circumstances are, but it seems quite possible that Isidoros is proclaiming himself

²⁸ H. Düll, G. Mickwitz, "Strassenraub," *RE* suppl vii (1940) col. 1243.

willing to bring charges against two known bandits of the region: it could just be rhetorical abuse, but he calls them "bandits and rustlers" (ληῃταις ὁμολόγους καὶ ζῶα ἀπεληλακότας πολλάκις).

One final observation on the phrase "in the manner of bandits": it is used exclusively and uniformly in a hostile way. There is no underlying feeling that a ληστής might be a good or heroic type. The bitterness that ordinary people could feel towards bandits is well illustrated in the famous story of Galen, who on a journey once through the countryside saw the body of a bandit lying by the side of the road: "He had been killed by some traveller resisting his attack. None of the local inhabitants would bury him, but in their hatred of him were glad enough to see his body consumed by the birds, which, in a couple of days, ate his flesh, leaving his body as if for a medical examination" (*On Anatomical Procedures* 1.2).

If these texts do not appear to display signs of popular solidarity with bandits, there are certainly others that do: we find considerable emphasis in official documents of all dates not just on bandits themselves, but also on the importance of rounding up accomplices, receivers of stolen goods, and people who give shelter to bandits. In this connection there is an important document from the 3rd century BC, containing ordinances of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (*P.Hibeh* II 198²⁹):

... and if he does not take him (to the police station) he will be liable to the same fine as the bandit (lines 85-6).

This seems to refer to a policeman who fails to arrest a bandit.

Bandits, other malefactors and royal sailors are to be arrested wherever they may be, and no one is to free them from arrest. Whoever obstructs or ... is liable to the same fines as the bandit or deserter from his ship (lines 92-6).

In other words, a bandit accomplice is liable to the same fine as the bandit himself.

Similarly receivers of stolen goods from bandits or any other malefactor, or shelterers of their persons are liable to the same fines... (lines 96-100).

²⁹ For the date, see R. S. Bagnall, "Some Notes on *P.Hibeh* 198," *BASP* 6 (1969) 73-118.

Banditry was proving a problem for the Ptolemaic administration, and Philadelphus sensibly targets the whole support system for bandits. Later on, in Roman times, the *Digest* (1.18.13) emphasizes the importance to provincial governors of hunting down collaborators, "without whom the bandit is not able to remain hidden for long;" receivers, who must be punished exactly as the bandit himself; and even those who could have apprehended a bandit, but let him go (*Dig.* 47.16.1). This is clearly important material for the theory of social banditry: people did assist, shelter and try to free bandits, and receive stolen goods. There could scarcely be any point in raising these possibilities otherwise. One of the main purposes in arresting collaborators was to get them to inform. We see a glimpse of this in a very fragmentary report of court proceedings from Antinoopolis (*P.Ant.* II 87 [3rd century AD]): the charges involve complicity with bandits (συνῆσαν τοῖς λησταῖς l.13), and torture has been used.³⁰ The examiner seems to be trying to get the defendant to betray his colleagues: "were NN in the company of bandits?;" "whom from the village...?;" "and who...?;" "and he answered, 'and others from the village.'" It is hardly stretching the evidence to suggest that we might well be in the world of Hobsbawm's social banditry here, where the bandit retains membership of, and a degree of protection from, his community.³¹

This protection may also include that of local officials with police functions. As we have seen, Ptolemy Philadelphus had to threaten officers who failed to arrest bandits. This sort of collusion is not noted by Hobsbawm: indeed he sees the common people as quite different from the police, who represent the views of the state,

³⁰ For the use of torture, see also *SB* XVI 12949 (3rd century) (= J. Rea, "Proceedings before Q. Maecius Laetus, Praef. Aeg., etc.," *JJP* 19 [1983] 91-101), which is a record of proceedings concerned largely with the misuse of torture in the interrogation of a suspected ληστής.

³¹ Shaw 1984 (above n.1) 16 maintained that the importance of informers is no necessary indicator of popular support for bandits: the Roman empire did not have a police system and always relied on informers. This is undoubtedly true in general (see Nippel [above n.19] 1-3 on the lack of a police force in the modern sense), but more so of some areas than others. As Shaw himself later argues (Shaw 1993 [above n. 1] 318), the topography of Egypt, use of the army and availability of local police forces (or, at least, local officials with police functions) made Egypt much easier to police than many other parts of the empire.

not local values. A number of papyri, however, point to the apparent reluctance of police to clamp down on bandits. The edict of Baebius Iuncinus, prefect of Egypt in the early 3rd century, provides a good example (*P.Oxy.* XII 1408 [c. 210-214]). Baebius says that he has already ordered the strategoi of the Heptanomia and Arsinoite nome to search out bandits carefully (περιφροντισμένως), warning them of the dangers of neglecting their duty. He is now confirming his decision with a decree to show that he really means business, offering rewards to those who cooperate and threatening those who disobey. The decree runs as follows:

That it is impossible to exterminate bandits (?) apart from those who shelter them, is evident to all, but when they are deprived of their helpers we shall quickly punish them (?). There are many methods of giving them shelter: some do so because they are partners in their misdeeds, others without sharing in these, yet... (the text breaks off here).

It is not perhaps a necessary conclusion that bandits were not being sought out carefully and that certain officials were neglecting their duty in this matter, but it is a conclusion that follows fairly easily from the subject and tone of the document. Baebius, like Ptolemy II over four hundred years earlier, has to strengthen the resolve of his officials because they are displaying a certain reluctance to pursue bandits vigorously. Again there is emphasis on attacking the support system of bandits: the decree begins with collaborators, and clearly goes into some detail on the subject.

In the Abinnaeus archive (*P.Abinn.* 45 [AD 343]) the veteran Priscus complains of theft by evildoers acting in the manner of bandits, and asks Abinnaeus to arrest the village officials and force them to bring the guilty parties before him. The editors suggest that there was some ill-feeling between the old soldier and the village officials, rather than that Priscus suspected the officials of complicity; but the latter interpretation seems to be the clear implication of Priscus' request.

Can we also detect official complicity in *BGU* I 325 (3rd century)? The document refers to officials called "bandit-catchers" (ληκτοπιασταί), which is an office that appears first about the

beginning of the 3rd century, but about which we know very little.³² In this text named "bandit-catchers" are ordered to join with village officials and seek out wanted criminals (τοὺς ἐπιζητούμενους κακούργους). If they ignore the order, they will be brought in bonds to appear before the prefect. It is hard to imagine why there should be need to talk about ignoring the order, if it were not a distinct possibility. The officials have to be threatened to do their job. Among other possibilities as to why this should be so, a social banditry explanation is certainly plausible: the bandit-catchers maintain some sort of social relationship with the men they are supposed to be chasing, and are therefore reluctant to do it. We are not actually told what crime the malefactors are supposed to have committed. If you send "bandit-catchers" after them, the logical explanation must be that they are bandits, and this is made even more likely by the use of the word κακοῦργοι. It should just be noted, however, that in another text (*P.Oslo* II 20 [3rd century]) a bandit-catcher is ordered to arrest a man who is in trouble with tax officials. The suspicion is that he has fled his home in order to avoid paying tax—the phenomenon known as *anachoresis* (literally "withdrawal")—and it might well be that "bandit-catchers" could be used to search for tax fugitives as well as bandits. As we shall see, the step from tax flight to banditry was a small one, a fact openly recognised by the Roman administration, and implicit in this use of a bandit-catcher to arrest someone for not paying his tax.

On the matter of possible official collusion with bandits *P.Mich.* VI 412 (reign of Claudius) is another interesting document. A petitioner reports the following incident:

... certain people acting in the manner of bandits, dug their way into the courtyard where we stable our donkeys and stole two of them. I submitted a report about this to the archephodus of Karanis, Pankrates. With his help I loaded one donkey with food and another with water, and we set out tracking the culprits from the place where we picked up their trail. We found that it led into the region of Bacchias and back into the desert, but just as we were on the point of apprehending the

³² See N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (Florence 1982) 37-8.

culprits in their home, the archepodus of Bacchias, Pasion, and the guards stationed at the gate prevented us. They arrested us, broke the water-jars, took our staves and locked us up for three days, until we should be unable to lay hands on the culprits.

Eventually the complainant and the archepodus³³ from Karanis were released. Although with petitions we get to hear only one side's version of events, it seems reasonably clear that the Bacchias officials are protecting the perpetrators. Who are these perpetrators and why are they being protected? The editors of the text regarded it as a dispute about local police jurisdiction: the archepodus of Karanis was exceeding his authority in trying to make an arrest in Bacchias, thus arousing the anger of Pasion. The evidence on the jurisdiction of an archepodus, whether his powers were limited to the village or extended further, is inconclusive, but the situation itself speaks against this explanation.³⁴ If Pankrates was merely trying to make an illegal arrest, the Bacchias officials could have pointed this out and driven him off; the purpose in locking him and the complainant up seems to have been to make sure that the thieves could get clear away. In other words this detention was more to do with the relationship between Pasion and the thieves than between Pasion and Pankrates. Local hostility against outsiders may have played a role: villages often formed very close-knit communities, suspicious of strangers.³⁵ Other texts show local

³³ "The ἀρχεπόδος was a liturgical official responsible for the maintenance of law and order at village level"—see *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3467.14 (AD 98) comm.; Lewis (above n.32) 16.

³⁴ On the powers of the archepodus, see H. J. Drexhage, "Zu den Überstellungsbefehlen aus dem römischen Ägypten (1.-3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.)," in *Migratio et commutatio. Studien zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben. Festschrift Th. Pekary* (St. Katharinen 1989) 108-11. Further treatment on "orders to arrest" in T. Gagos, P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Towards an Explanation of the Typology of the So-Called 'Orders to Arrest,'" *BASP* 33 (1996) 77-97.

³⁵ See particularly H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte Ägyptens in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit* (Bonn 1964) 21; 62. It is interesting to observe in *P.Mich.* III 148.12 (1st century) how "strangers" (ἀλλόφυλοι) are equated with bandits (ληῃται).

communities closing ranks against outsiders.³⁶ The most obvious explanation of what was going on is that the Bacchias police were in collusion with the thieves, at least to the extent of refusing to acknowledge any criminal activities they may have engaged in outside the territory of Bacchias. Whether there was actual corruption, and the police got a cut of their takings, we cannot really say. As for the thieves themselves, although the editors maintained they were resident in Bacchias, the text gives slightly more detailed information: Pankrates and the petitioner tracked the perpetrators into the region of Bacchias, but then the trail led back into the desert, where the thieves had their home. The whole situation is at least suggestive of social banditry—people living on the margins of Bacchias society, who, perhaps only on occasion, resort to banditry (outside their own community, over in Karanis), and enjoy the tacit protection of the local police.³⁷

There is no trace in the papyri of what Hobsbawm presented as the classic route into banditry—the commission of a crime, especially murder, which ordinary people, but not the state, regard as in some sense justified or honourable. The only glimpse we get of the genesis of a bandit in Egypt is through *anachoresis*, the unregistered flight from your place of dwelling to unknown whereabouts and consequent abandonment of your tax and liturgical responsibilities. The most explicit connection between *anachoresis* and banditry occurs in the edict of the prefect M. Sempronius Liberalis, from the year 154 (*BGU* II 372).³⁸ Some people have left their homes, Sempronius says, because of the

³⁶ See, for instance, *P.Goth.* 13 (4th century), in which Apollonius complains to Herakleios, epistates in Lycopolis, of the treatment meted out to Heron, another functionary of some sort, who had gone to Lycopolis to arrest a perfume-seller called Ktistes. The people of Lycopolis were very hostile to a stranger trying to arrest one of their own.

³⁷ A more organised form of collusion seems to be implied by *SB* XVI 12570 (2nd/3rd century): a soldier wants to visit his parents, but the journey is difficult, as he has heard that the people of an intervening village practise banditry (ληστεύουσιν) and will not let anyone pass through.

³⁸ For the fullest study, see S. Strassi Zaccharia, *L'editto di M. Sempronius Liberalis* (Trieste 1988). On *anachoresis* see, most recently, N. Lewis, "Notationes legentis," *BASP* 33 (1996) 64-6.

recent disturbance (τὴν γενομένην δυσχέρειαν—col. 1.3-4), and are providing the necessities of life (?) from other sources; others have fled from certain liturgies because of poverty, and are still living away from home in fear of the proscriptions that were immediately declared. He orders everyone to return home and not wander in foreign places without hearth and home (μὴ ἀνεκτίους καὶ ἀοίκους ἐπὶ ξένης ἀλᾶσθαι—col. 1.13-4). An amnesty is declared. No enquiry is to be permitted against anyone, not even those proscribed by the strategi. All are ordered to return to their homes; those who refuse will be sought out as “manifest malefactors” (ὁμολόγους κακούργους—col.1.32-3). Thus far in the document Sempronius has identified people who have been forced, by the disturbances or by poverty, to flee. He now turns to others who have voluntarily run away and associated with those who have chosen “the wicked life of a bandit” (πονηρὸν καὶ ληστρικὸν βίον—col. 2.1-2). They should know that the epistrategi and strategi and soldiers despatched by Sempronius for the security and care of the countryside have been instructed to suppress incipient raids by provident and timely measures, and to give immediate chase when raids have been carried out. Perhaps there is a hint here too of police collusion with bandits, or at least of a soft official attitude to them: Sempronius implies that up to this point state officials have not taken effective measures to suppress bandit raids, or give chase once they have occurred. It is specifically against banditry that Sempronius is acting, and he is even willing to ignore other crimes in pursuit of this one (or so seems to be the meaning of lines 11-13: καὶ τοὺς λημφθέντας ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ κακούργους μηδὲν περαιτέρω τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ληστείᾳ γενομένων ἐξετάζειν). Everyone must return to their homes within three months; otherwise they will be brought before Sempronius not as suspects, but as “manifest malefactors” (col. 2.16-23): presumably he means they will be facing the death penalty.

Interestingly Sempronius is concerned not so much with the loss of state revenue caused by *anachoresis*, as with public order. People abandoning their land because of civil unrest, unmanageable liturgical requirements or even, apparently, career choice, have been providing recruits to the bandit life. There are a number of official orders directed against *anachoresis* without the explicit

connection to banditry made by Sempronius Liberalis, but we may surmise that banditry was one of the main concerns that lay behind these orders.³⁹

Possibly also revealing the link between banditry and *anachoresis* is the remarkable Oxyrhynchite dossier containing two pronouncements of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, a letter of the prefect Subatianus Aquila, and a petition to Subatianus (*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3362 [209]).⁴⁰ *Anachoresis* looms large in the dossier. The imperial edicts are fragmentary, but it is clear that they deal with people who have disappeared, and with those who have sheltered them: "people protecting taxpayers who have left their own homeland, shall be liable to... by way of fine, and those who shelter them... Since we have learnt... that many are living in foreign parts, we publicly order them all to return to their own homes..." (lines 3-7). A copy of the two imperial edicts and Subatianus' letter is appended as supporting documentation for the petition, which is the best preserved and most interesting part of the text. The petitioner, Herakleides son of Chairemon, claims to be someone who does not lead the life of a bandit, but a peaceful one (line 26-7),⁴¹ in contrast to Serenos, the man about whom he is complaining, who lives a wicked life (κακοῦ βίου—line 35). Serenos comes from the Small Oasis and has disobeyed the imperial edicts that everyone should return to their homes and not live in foreign parts. In view of Subatianus' order that those found residing away from home should be arrested and anyone sheltering them should pay a large fine, Herakleides requests the prefect "to give orders in your sacred subscriptio that the most excellent epistrategos hear me against the aforementioned Serenos... to make him stop from his impiety and disobedience, and further to compel the person sheltering him to pay the 50,000 sesterces per person fixed by the

³⁹ See, for instance, *SB* XIV 11374 (168); *SB* I 4284 (207); *P.Gen.* I 16 (207); *P.Giss.* I 40 (215); *BGU* I 159 (216). Significantly in *SB* I 4284.8 the order to return home is associated with the suppression of "lawless violence" (ἐκκόψαντες τὰ βίαια καὶ ἄνομα).

⁴⁰ Initial publication and full discussion in J. D. Thomas, "A Petition to the Prefect of Egypt and Related Imperial Edicts," *JEA* 61 (1975) 201-221.

⁴¹ The end of line 26 is missing, and the beginning of line 27 reads]κουβίου, but the restoration ληγτρι]κοῦ βίου is highly probable.

divine law-giving... and if this is done no one at all in future will dare to shelter a..." (lines 39-43). The details of Herakleides' accusations are made uncertain by the fragmentary nature of the text at that point, but the section seems to run as follows (lines 34-39): "disobeying the sacred edicts, showing no regard for (?) the danger hanging over him, he still even now lives in the Oxyrhynchite leading an evil life, and with the same brazenness (?) inspires great fear of himself though living in a city not his own, and further he attempts to make (?) ... and to keep under his control (?) the people when they meet, contrary to the prohibitions (for this too has been banned by the divine fortune of our same lord emperors, namely the right of a vagabond and impious man even to speak (?) at any gathering of citizens)."

Even allowing for the one-sided and rhetorical nature of a petition such as this, the implication of Herakleides' case is that Serenos is able to throw his weight around and generally defy the law, because he enjoys some powerful support. This raises the important matter of the relationship between bandits and the powerful. We have seen texts suggesting community support for bandits from ordinary people and minor officials. In order to survive, banditry must have this; or it must enjoy some sort of covert, or indeed not so covert, support from men of power. "If a figure as highly vulnerable as a brigand who operated well within spaces dominated by Roman towns and cities was to survive for any length of time, there is every indication that he needed to be coopted by local men in power."⁴² As we move deeper chronologically into the imperial period, cooperation between bandits and the politically powerful seems to grow. When the Theodosian Code talks of abolishing "the protection of the powerful over armed criminals and bandits" (*CTh.* 1.29.8), the problem must have become conspicuous. In a 6th century Cairo papyrus (*P.Cairo Masp.* I 67002 II.23) the villagers of Aprodito complain that the pagarch Menas has terrorized them with an army of bandits, countryfolk and soldiers. Clearly bandits are functioning here as an instrument of control in the hands of the powerful, and we are moving into the

⁴² Shaw 1993 (above n.1) 324.

realm of the *bucellarii*.⁴³ It is a development in which banditry, or at least some bandits, go public, so to speak, and become almost respectable. Although it is mostly associated with late antiquity, there is an incident from Ptolemaic times that perhaps points to the same process. In 113 BC a cavalry soldier called Pyrrhicus and his henchman Heraclius organised a raid on the village of Tebtunis. Different farmers complain about the damage done.⁴⁴ One writes of Heraclius and Pyrrhicus arriving with a group of armed men (ἄλλοις πλείστοις ἐν μαχαίραις—*P.Tebt.* I 45.17), robbing and plundering the village. Naphthali Lewis places this in the context of tension between Greek soldiers and Egyptian farmers.⁴⁵ This may be so, but it looks very similar to the semi-official brigandage of Menas and his unsavoury associates seven centuries later, and we might wonder if Pyrrhicus and Heraclius have recruited the assistance of bandits.⁴⁶

In the case of Serenos in *P.Oxy.* 3362, we do not really know what is happening. It is difficult to decide how to describe him. Was he a bandit? He could have been: he is said to be leading “an evil life” in the Oxyrhynchite nome, unlike the law-abiding Herakleides who is specifically not leading the life of a bandit (as if to imply that that is exactly what Serenos was doing); it is certainly interesting that he is operating outside his home territory; and if his unnamed patron wielded great power, Serenos could afford to be more brazen than bandits normally were. On the other hand the notion of a bandit leader speaking at public meetings, and in general having

⁴³ On the *bucellarii*, see, for instance, J.-U. Krause, *Spätantike Patronatsformen im Westen des Römischen Reiches* (Munich 1987) 126–44.

⁴⁴ See *P.Tebt.* I 45, 46, 47; IV, 1095, 1096.

⁴⁵ N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt. Case Studies in the History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1986) 121.

⁴⁶ For the possibility of relatively high-level political indifference to banditry in the 1st century BC, see *BGU* VIII 1764, in which the strategus of the Herakleopolite nome tries to defend himself against the charge that he has not energetically countered the unrest in his nome. We are not told what the unrest was about—the editor unconvincingly suggests a revolt of the Jews or an anti-semitic movement not otherwise attested—but some of the troublemakers are called ληκταί (line 6); there is mention of κακούργοι (line 16) and interestingly in line 20 κακούργους has been replaced with the word ληκτάς.

such a high public profile, is perhaps improbable.⁴⁷ David Thomas, who first edited the text,⁴⁸ thought of organized crime (a related phenomenon, but different from banditry), picturing Serenos as a local crime boss with powerful connections protecting him. The problem with this idea is that Serenos is not "local": he comes from the Small Oasis, and it is not immediately easy to see how he could establish himself in Oxyrhynchus. The pagarch Menas patronised bandits. Perhaps Serenos is a bandit client of a powerful patron. If not, then a violent town rowdy of some sort. We are not told how he manages to push his weight around in the nome, but, whether a bandit himself or not, we might reasonably surmise that, like Menas, he had a gang of undesirable types at his disposal, bandits among them, and that at the very least, banditry lurks in the margins of this text.

The one element that is consistently missing from the papyrological record of bandits is romance. There is no sign of the invisible and invulnerable bandit, moving at will around the country. There is no reference to the betrayal of bandit chiefs in the dramatic and romantic manner described by Hobsbawm. Indeed we hear nothing about the family background and personal lives of bandits, whether, for instance, they were young and unmarried. In a speech reported by Dio (56.6.6-56.7.1) Augustus pictures the life of a brigand as solitary, without wife and children—but the papyri are silent on the subject. They have nothing to say about what Hobsbawm regards as the classic route into banditry, flight after a killing or some other action regarded as criminal by the government, but by the ordinary people as justified or even heroic. What we do hear in this regard is decidedly unromantic: ordinary people forced by their inability to meet tax requirements into the desperate remedy of flight.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ In 19th century Morocco, however, the remarkable figure of the *kamman* acted as bandit leader, fence and local notable in a most public manner: see Hart (above n.20) 13-17; 69-78.

⁴⁸ See above n.40.

⁴⁹ T. W. Gallant, "Greek Bandits: Lone Wolves or a Family Affair," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 6 (1988) 269-90 demonstrates most interestingly the importance of kinship in bandit groups of 18th and 19th century Greece. In Apuleius (*Met.* 4.23) we learn that Haemus' father was a bandit, but if banditry

It might be argued that by their very nature papyri were always unlikely to convey the same sort of romantic information as songs and tales, but they scarcely even convey names. And if there were famous bandit leaders, it seems a reasonable expectation that they would surface in the papyri. I have argued that there are instances in which victims are willing to lay information against people who may be bandits; and perhaps Serenos was a bandit. But this is indecisive material. Where, for instance, are the "Wanted, dead or alive" notices, that one might well expect to have survived in the papyrological record? I can find only two references to named people who might have been well known bandits. There is someone called "Lysimachus the bandit" in a Zenon papyrus (*P.Cairo Zen. I 59044.5* [257 BC]): the editor suggests "a pirate encountered at sea? Or a land-shark?" This is very much a passing reference—no further explanation is given—but that in itself is perhaps significant: the writer assumes knowledge of Lysimachus, and has no need to elaborate, Lysimachus being a well known brigand. The other possibility also dates from Ptolemaic times. A village scribe called Nechutes reports in a Demotic document of 18 September 91 BC an incursion into the Latopolite and Pathyrite nomes by a group he calls "the people of the Rebel":⁵⁰ during the night they attacked and killed an Egyptian farmer who was sleeping in his fields. This is often taken to concern the beginning of the revolt put down by Ptolemy Soter II in about 86 BC (Pausanias 1.9.3), but it seems much more likely to be a report about bandit activity.⁵¹ One lowly farmer has been killed, and the deed was done by night when bandits and robbers might be on the move, but scarcely the forces of rebellion. This is surely a bandit group, led by someone who took, or was given, the name of "the Rebel." While Lysimachus and "the Rebel" may have been well known bandits, the papyri give us no reason at all to regard them, or indeed any other bandit who makes

was a hereditary occupation in Egypt, the papyri, unfortunately, have nothing to say about it.

⁵⁰ See U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Demotische Verwaltungsakten aus Gebelein: der große Berliner Papyrus 13608," *ZÄS* 121 (1994) 76, 82, 85-6.

⁵¹ See B. C. McGing, "Revolt Egyptian Style. Internal Opposition to Ptolemaic Rule," *APF* 43 (1997) 298.

a papyrological appearance, as a sort of Egyptian Robin Hood, champion of the poor and righter of wrongs.

The difference between romance and reality is evident in what is probably the only example of bandit activity (or something closely related) both reported in a literary source and reflected, if fleetingly, in a papyrus. I refer to the story of the Boukoloi recounted in Dio (71.4) and, remarkably, transmitted in very different form in a contemporary papyrus from the Mendesian nome, *P.Thmouis*.⁵² Dio gives a brief, but sensational report of what is usually taken to be a real group of outlaws in Lower Egypt who caused a major disturbance in AD 171/2. Led by an Egyptian priest called Isidorus, so Dio tells us, the Boukoloi joined forces with other Egyptians and revolted. They disguised themselves as women to trick a Roman centurion—he thought they were Boukoloi women offering him money on behalf of their men. They killed him, sacrificed his companion, and after swearing an oath on the entrails, ate them. They defeated the Romans in set battle, and would have taken Alexandria, if Cassius had not come from Syria and subdued them by sowing discord in their ranks; he did not dare face them all together, as they were so numerous and desperate. *P.Thmouis* paints a depressing picture of tax arrears, serious depopulation and general economic difficulties in the the Delta during the 160's. The Boukoloi are at least partly to blame for the difficulties in the area, and in contrast to the romance of Dio, the reality for the inhabitants is much grimmer (*P.Thmouis* 99; 104; 114; 116). We learn that most of the inhabitants of Kerkenouphis have been killed by "the impious Neikokeites" (ὕπὸ τῶν ἀνομίῳν Νεικῶκειτῶν), who had attacked the village and burnt it. Zmoumis was also attacked. Official reports are written and the Prefect of Egypt, Q. Baienus Blassianus, informed. Fortunately for us Achilles Tatius (4.12.7-8) identifies Nikochis as the headquarters of the Boukoloi, and the exotic story of an almost heroic group of outlaws

⁵² S. Kambitsis, *Le Papyrus Thmouis I, colonnes 68-180* (Strasbourg 1985). See too the *Historia Augusta*: *M. Ant.* 21.2; *Avidius Cassius* 6.7. For analysis of Dio, see especially Winkler (above n.25) 175-81; and of the papyrus, D. W. Rathbone, "Villages, Land and Population in Graeco-Roman Egypt," *PCPhS* 36 (1990) 114-9; R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt. A Social History* (London 1995) 77-8; 83-4.

engaging in disguise, ritual murder and cannibalism (directed against their enemies) takes on a rather harsher reality in the papyri. Villages that did not cooperate with the Boukoloi were attacked and destroyed, their inhabitants killed. Those that did assist them, so it appears, like Petetei, Psenharpokratis and Psenbienchon, were punished by government forces (ὕπὸ τῆς πεμφθείσης τραπεζικῆς δυνάμεως). For Dio, Isidorus and the Boukoloi may be heroic, but they are also remote and largely unreal; for the administrators, and the inhabitants, of the Mendesian nome, the Boukoloi are only too real, and brought nothing but misery. It is not at all clear how we should classify the Boukoloi—perhaps traditional bandits, as Alston suggests⁵³—but although by entering into open revolt against Rome (if Dio is right and that is what they did), they clearly move out of Hobsbawm's category of social bandits, it is still instructive to observe their different treatment in literature and in a papyrus document.

If papyri offer no support for the romantic details of Hobsbawm's model, they do suggest that ambiguous relationship with society which set bandits apart from common criminals. Comparative material, rather than Hobsbawm, alerts us to the probability of collusion between bandits and establishment interests; and the papyrological record bears this out. Local police turn a blind eye to bandits in their midst, and sometimes play a more positive role in protecting them; high officials periodically find it necessary to urge and even threaten their subordinates to stop dragging their feet and take appropriately vigorous action against bandits; and the élite make their own arrangements with bandits, presumably to their mutual advantage. As regards the sort of general popular support for bandits envisaged by Hobsbawm, there is admittedly some conflict in the evidence. On the one side we have incidents where local people are robbed, apparently by bandits, but prove quite prepared to go to the police: not surprisingly they did not like being robbed, and displayed no obvious signs of reluctance to pursue justice. On the other hand the material which emphasizes the importance of collaborators, accomplices, receivers, informers

⁵³ Alston (above n.52) 84; or, according to Elton's typology (see above n.6), a particularly large professional bandit group?

does convey the impression that the government was trying to combat some degree of popular support for bandits. Although our examination of Hobsbawm's model has not endorsed very much of it, the "social bandit" has proved useful as an analytical category in the interpretation of individual texts.⁵⁴ The romance of banditry belongs, no doubt, where Hobsbawm found it—in the world of literature, legend and phantasy. This was an important world, where poor people could dream of heroes and protectors who would rescue them from oppression, and the rich and powerful could invent ideologically appropriate figures to challenge, but ultimately reassert, the status quo.⁵⁵ It is, however, a far cry from the harsher, more sullen world of social reality reflected in the papyri.⁵⁶

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⁵⁴ "The social bandit may no longer deserve to be feted, but it is certainly premature to show him the door": Joseph (above n.13) 16.

⁵⁵ See Seal (above n.25) 186-87.

⁵⁶ These bandits of mine are now embarrassingly well travelled, and I can only thank colleagues in Germany, Britain, Ireland and America for their comments and assistance in seminar, letter and conversation, particularly Michael Peachin, Jim Adams, Mark Humphries, Jill Harries, Paul Cartledge.

**“It was Wonderful, Our Return in the
Darkness with... the Baskets of Papyri!”
Papyrus Finds at Tebtunis from the Bagnani
Archives, 1931-1936¹
(Plate 23)**

The first Italian excavations at Tebtunis began with high hopes in 1929 but ended quietly in 1936 without ever receiving proper publication. Recently, however, excavation notebooks, diaries, plans, correspondence, photographs, and even watercolours were discovered among the papers left to Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario, Canada by one of the excavation's directors, Gilbert Bagnani.² While most of the new information concerns architecture, there are nonetheless many scattered references to papyri and ostraka. Perhaps of greatest interest are the detailed eyewitness descriptions of the two largest papyrological discoveries, that of the sanctuary “library” in 1931 and that of the “grapheion” in 1934. It seems best to present the material chronologically, based on the information in the archives together with the preliminary reports and other references among the papyrological literature. It needs to be emphasized that the conclusions are preliminary until the new material can be considered in conjunction with the archives in Italy of Carlo Anti and Achille Vogliano.

¹ I would like to thank Terry Wilfong for inviting me to submit this account of the papyrological aspects of the Bagnani Archives, as well as for unfailingly helpful advice. The inadequacies remaining are mine.

² I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the Trustees of the Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Endowment Fund both for allowing me to publish the Bagnani Archives and for generously supporting this research project. I would also like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance provided with unfailing courtesy and patience by the Trent Archivist Bernadine Dodge and her assistant Jodi Aoki, especially since the Bagnani archives are still unprocessed and unavailable for public scrutiny at this time.

Gilbert Bagnani was born in Rome in 1900, the son of Ugo Bagnani, an Italian military attaché, and Florence Dewar from Port Hope, Ontario. He was educated in London and received his baccalaureate in 1921 in Rome before attending the Italian School of Archaeology in Athens for the next two years, where he participated in a few excavations with his fellow student Doro Levi. In 1925 he was working for the Soprintendenza all'Antichità for Rome, researching and exploring for the Carta Archeologica d'Italia, and he published *The Roman Campagna and its Treasures* in 1929. He married Stewart Houston, descendant of a family prominent in early Ontario history and herself a skillful artist.

Meanwhile, Carlo Anti, Professor of Archaeology and the History of Greek and Roman Art at Padua, had been appointed in 1928 to head the Italian Mission to Egypt to coordinate Italian archaeological activity there. Anti had also studied at Athens and had excavated at Cyrene. He persuaded Evaristo Breccia, who began digging at Tebtunis³ in 1929 for the Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto, to yield the concession to him in return for handing over any papyri to the Società, which essentially consisted of Girolamo Vitelli and Medea Norsa in Florence. Anti began a methodical excavation in 1930 with the intention of uncovering the urban topography of the site, even if that meant digging where the seabakhin had already probed.⁴ In his first season he uncovered parts of the residential areas of the town, including ten Graeco-Roman houses on the west side. A small archive of papyri of the family of Heron dating to the first half of

³ Tebtunis had been dug briefly by Grenfell and Hunt in December 1899-January 1900 (Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, "A large find of Ptolemaic papyri," *APF* 1 (1901) 376-378; B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly, *The Tebtunis Papyri I* (London 1902) v-viii) and by Otto Rubenson of the Berlin Museum in 1902 (Otto Rubensohn, "Aus Griechisch-Römischen Häusern des Fayum," *JDAI* 20 (1905) 1-25). After the site was thus revealed to papyri and seabakh hunters, papyri from sporadic looting turned up on the market in the first decade of this century and again after 1920. For a reconstruction of the dates of discovery and purchase of papyri from Tebtunis, see Claudio Gallazzi, "Fouilles anciennes et nouvelles sur le site de Tebtynis," *BIFAO* 89 (1989) 179-191.

⁴ Carlo Anti, "Scavi di Tebtunis (1930-1935)," *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Florence 1935) 473.

the second century was found in one of the houses⁵ and was published in 1932.⁶

In 1931 Gilbert Bagnani joined Anti as a member of the Italian Mission and wrote letters at least weekly to his wife Stewart in Rome. On Friday 9 January he and Anti reached the site and set up their tents after driving several miles across the desert. On Sunday they began clearing sand from the so-called "market" space between the Greek and Egyptian houses excavated in the previous season. This area proved to be the south end of the long processional approach to the sanctuary of the crocodile god Souchos.

On the 11th [Sunday January 1931] we started work.... We started at last on a space which was empty next to last year's dig [the ten houses] and at once began to find the brick walls of a large square building round three sides of the interior. I at once said Temple while Anti thought it might be a senate house. We got a few bits of papyri too. The sand here is perfectly fantastic as a preservative. It keeps simply everything, rope, cloth, papyri, even chicken's feathers. The wood is really amazing.

They had found the first of a series of Roman deipneteria or dining halls that lined the sacred way or processional dromos to the temple.

22 Jan 1931 [Thursday] The dig, of which you will find a sketch above is getting curiouseer and curiouseer. Also in many ways more troublesome: it is far more than we expected.... In our first days we found what we called Temple A with the two lions, then Temple B in front of it; then we got the altar with the inscription, then Temple C.

⁵ Carlo Anti, "Archeologia d'oltremare III," *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti* 90.2 (1930-1931) 1060-62; Aristide Calderini, "Scavi della Missione Archeologica Italiana a Tebtunis (Fajum)," *Aegyptus* 10 (1931) 295-296.

⁶ PSI X 1129-1149. According to Vitelli, fragments 1133 and 1136-1142 came from the house excavated in 1930, the other papyri in this section belonging to the sanctuary "library" deposit found in 1931; in "Scavi di Tebtunis (1930-1935)," *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Florence 1935) 477, Anti referred to these papyri as the "piccolo archivio di Heron."

The level of the paved court [dromos] is about three meters below the soil....

(The first page of this letter, with Bagnani's sketch, is reproduced below on Plate 23.)

Then at the north of the dromos under the dump of Breccia and Anti they uncovered the south facade of the southern kiosk and assumed it to be a temple.

Then of course the things we had taken for Temples up till now aren't, and Anti has had a brain wave. They must be the houses in which the pilgrims who came to pray to the god passed the night. That explains the benches. On the other hand it is of course a disappointing dig as regards objects; we have now dug two houses [i.e., deipneteria] to the W of the court and though one had a lovely cellar with its trap door still in place we have not got any papyri worth mentioning. But to-day we got some 40 inscribed potsherds from the cellar of 'Temple' C: so we are quite happy.

It is clear from Bagnani's sketch and the unpublished plan of the architect Fausto Franco that "Temple C" was the second deipneterion along the west side of the dromos. Bagnani's sketch also locates the altar with the Greek inscription to "Sekneptynis" between the second and third deipneteria, as recently surmised by Bastianini and Gallazzi.⁷

Bagnani spent a large part of his first season getting supplies from the town of Fayum and Cairo where he was also working in the museum and meeting many other archaeologists. As a result, he was not always on the site while Anti was in 1931.

⁷ Guido Bastianini, and Claudio Gallazzi, "Un' epigrafe scomparsa di Tebtynis," *Tyche* 3 (1988) 25-27, Pl. 1; Guido Bastianini, and Claudio Gallazzi, "Ancora sull' epigrafe di Tebtynis," *Tyche* 4 (1989) 1-2, Pl. 1-2. Pl. 2 from the northeast shows "Temple B" in the foreground opposite the south lion at the entrance of "Temple A."

Anti is now digging within the temenos wall of the Temple, after the pylons, and has found a number of mud brick houses that formed the dependances for the priests and other people.

Sunday and Monday I spent on the dig. On Tuesday morning [3 March] we began getting some quite large papyri and have hopes of another big find!

The spectacular find of the 1931 season was the so-called "library" of ritual papyri from one of the houses inside the sanctuary itself. Bagnani's letter of Wednesday 11 March 1931 provides a clear description.

I got your letter in answer to my wire yesterday, Tuesday 10, which is the red letter day of the expedition this year! We had been working on some houses on the east wall of the temenos of the Temple and had been finding bits of papyrus. We were very much afraid that it had already been plundered since we knew from our workmen and also from the Cairo dealers that some natives had dug there last year and had found a very large quantity of papyri. So we hadn't much hope, but we thought that perhaps some small cache might have been overlooked. We got down to two small cellars side by side and we began to empty them at about half past ten. At once we began to get small fragments of papyri. There was no straw in the cellar so we had little hope again of getting anything. You must know that if there is straw in the cellar it manages to preserve the papyrus, while if there is earth the papyrus is almost always in such a condition that it cannot even be read. Very soon we found, however, that the cellar had been filled practically to the top with papyri, and the quantity of them was such that they acted as a kind of straw. We had been used up till now to keep the bits of papyrus we found in old cigarette boxes and, the better bits, in fairly large tin boxes like flat biscuit tins. We at once came to the end of our available boxes and had to put the papyri in baskets. We worked at that cellar all the morning. At midday we had the visit of the captain of police from Tutun, so we had him to lunch. Afterwards Anti went back at once to the dig and I had the captain on my hands for about an hour and then I too went back to the cellars. When night fell we got the lanterns and by seven at night we got those cellars clear. We got about 18 large baskets full of papyri. The quantity is so enormous

that we have made no attempt at sorting them, but have filled three large suitcases and some eight tin boxes with them and on Saturday Anti is going to take them to Cairo and deposit them at the Bank. The star piece is a hieratic papyrus that when unrolled will measure some eight to ten feet in length. They seem to be written in every language under the sun: hieroglyphic, hieratic, Demotic, Greek, and apparently another language. There is certainly a page of Homer, another Greek papyrus is a list of taxes, there are a number of Greek literary texts, and a number of the Demotic ones have Greek on the back. This is certainly a very big find, and we have estimated the approximate value of the papyri at between 2000 and 5000 pounds! Isn't it splendid! We were all practically dead last night. Michael, who had spent the whole day in the cellar was quite faint at the end. The two workmen who found the papyri got two pounds each bakshish and I thought one of them, a very nice Sudani, would go mad with joy. The funny part is that all the workmen say that I am the lucky one. They knew I had come back on Saturday to remain till the end of the season and they say that when I came back then the papyri began to come. They forget that the pastes [faïences] came when I was away, but then they do not realize their value. They think that we are out only for papyri, and anything else seems worthless to their eyes. It was really most amusing to see the the joy of the whole camp. The other workmen of course were rather sick that they had not had the luck, but everyone in the vicinity came up to congratulate us. I think 'il hamdul illah' 'thanks be to god' will have been said at least a thousand times. As the refuse was thrown out of the cellar there were eight boys who went over it all and got some six baskets full of stuff just of the small bits that weren't taken up in the cellar itself. It was wonderful, our return in the darkness with the lamps and the baskets of papyri! Mohammed the Cat, the boy of whom I sent you a photo, was one of our gleaners and has quite a good treble. So he struck up a song and catches, 'Istidni, istidni' and then we (that is to say the Arabs and myself) would answer 'Ya ballah' and we were very happy indeed.

Anti last week, in his search for money, had written to Senator Vitelli to ask him for 20,000 lire. So last night he at once sent off a telegram to tell him to send his assistant, the Signorina Norsa, to deal with the papyri, that is to say to unroll them and to press them so that they can be taken to Italy and studied. To-day we have just received Vitelli's answer to the letter saying that he is sending the money and the Norsa. Stout fellow!

...We have had fragments of a shrine with a hieroglyphic inscription which was originally inlaid with glass pastes....

By the way, you can tell the world about the find of papyri. Do not specify too much but let everybody know that we have found about half a cubic metre of papyri. If you see Prof. [Henry A.] Sanders of the American School tell him. He is a papyrologist and will be interested....

Bagnani's letter of 11 March thus provides a clear picture of the quantity of the material, of how it was handled, and how quickly they were aware of its contents. It also describes the archaeological context in which they were discovered as a "cellar... filled practically to the top with papyri," which calls into question the usual identification of the deposit as a "library." No evidence was recorded for jars, baskets, shelves, or significant distributional patterns despite fairly ideal preservative conditions. Although the papyri, or some of them, may have originally derived from a hypothetical priestly collection, the archaeological context itself does not support the identification.

The excavators were living in tents in 1931, and so suitcases provided the only convenient method for protecting and transporting the papyri. After March 10, there are several references in the letters exchanged among Anti, Breccia, Vitelli and Norsa to the find and its export to Italy.⁸ A letter from Anti to Norsa on 25 March explains that he did not lock the old valise of papyri that he left for her at the bank because he no longer had the key.⁹ The discovery of the papyri elicited the funding which enabled the excavations to be extended for several weeks.

18 March 1931 Girolamo Vitelli in Florence to Medea Norsa in Egypt

...Instead a letter has arrived from Anti dated 11 March where he tells me of the great discovery. He says among other things that besides the Greek there is much hieroglyphic, hieratic and Demotic. I

⁸ These letters have been published in Donato Morelli and Rosario Pintaudi, eds., *Cinquant'anni di papirologia in Italia* (Naples 1983).

⁹ *Cinquant'anni*, p. 504.

suppose therefore that the Greek probably will be Ptolemaic. He says that there are several rolls, some intact. Several things have been ruined but hundreds of pieces are in good condition.... Anti's idea is to take them to Cairo, to the Museum, because you can prepare them at your convenience.¹⁰

20 March 1931 Friday Umm el Breigat (Gilbert Bagnani to Stewart Bagnani)

...Paribeni, having heard of our discovery of papyri, has sent another 20,000 lire and Anti has got another 10,000 from the University of Padua, with Vitelli's, we have an extra 50,000 lire and are in clover.... I have decided, following also Anti's advice, which agrees with my own ideas, that I have got to keep the great Papyrus with the liturgy of Suchos, so I mean to go over to England fairly early and work with [A. H.] Gardiner, [T. E.] Peet and [A. M.] Blackman at hieratic, which I do not know.... [Maurice] Nahman, the Cairo dealer, told Anti that the papyri may be worth up to 10,000 pounds! And we have got all this with an expenditure of about 2,000!....

On Friday last [13 March] as I told you Anti went off with the papyri to Cairo, leaving me in charge here.

1 April 1931 (Gilbert Bagnani to Stewart Bagnani)

...On Sunday Breccia came down with the Signorina Norsa. The former is the director of the Alex museum and the latter the expert on papyri which we have had out from Italy. They were much impressed by the dig. The Norsa has had very little time so far to work on the papyri; not to read them of course but just to give them the first hair cut so to speak. She says that of course the Egyptian documents are by far the most numerous and most important. She has been able to put together a miniature out of a number of fragments and by her description of it it sounds rather unusual. One of the Greek documents is part of a medical treatise and another is a calendar with astrological observations. Evidently the priests did a certain amount of doctoring as well and we have found quite a number of [wooden] pill boxes, one [with its stopper still in place] with the pills [or seeds] still inside. It will be rather interesting to

¹⁰ *Cinquant'anni*, letter 267. (my translation) and n. 3

have them analyzed. I must say I am rather looking forward to seeing some of the papyri in Cairo. She is only going to unroll the first column of the big papyrus since it would be impossible to move it once it is unrolled. I wonder what I am going to do about it since I want to have it in Rome to work on. It will take me some two or three years to publish it....

A brief preliminary report added that, besides Greek inscriptions and graffiti which furnished the first indications for chronology of the different parts of the sanctuary, there was also a long hieratic text written in ink on stone, perhaps a hymn to Souchos. Finally before the end of the dig, in the northeast quarter of the Kom most exposed to the sebakhin, two churches were excavated, interesting for their plan, decoration and numerous inscriptions and Coptic and Arabic graffiti preserved on their walls.¹¹

Bagnani began studying the hieratic papyrus and in his article on "The Transcription of Late Hieratic" described it as "a half theological, half geographical treatise on the crocodile god Sobk," dated to AD 137, Hadrian's twentieth year.¹² Years later, however, Anti gave the hieratic papyrus to Giuseppe Botti to publish in full.¹³

¹¹ For Anti's brief report on the 1931 season, see "Gli scavi della Missione archeologica italiana a Umm el Breighat (Tebtunis)," *Aegyptus* 11 (1931) 389-391. For the only photographs published for 1931 see C. Anti, "The Cult of the Crocodile in Ancient Egypt," *ILN* May 30, 1931, 908-910.

¹² Gilbert Bagnani, "The Transcription of Late Hieratic," *JEA* 19 (1933) 163. Comparing it with the very similar P.Berlin 7809/10, he inferred that it "was undoubtedly copied from a hieroglyphic papyrus with vignettes lacking in the hieratic, very similar to the well-known Papyrus du Lac Moeris and the Amherst fragments."

¹³ Giuseppe Botti, *La Glorificazione di Sobk e del Fayyum in un papiro ieratico da Tebtynis*, *Analecta Aegyptiaca* VIII (Copenhagen 1959). It has been emphasized that this papyrus is concerned with Sobk of Crocodilopolis and was not adapted for the local crocodile god of Tebtunis, Soknebtunis; see W. J. Tait, "Demotic Literature and Egyptian Society" in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 51 (Chicago 1992) 309.

The paper presented by Giuseppe Botti at the Fourth Papyrological Congress in Florence on 2 May 1935 described the papyri from just one of the suitcases in more detail.¹⁴ Valise A had the most numerous but poorest preserved papyri, coming from Cantina F in the sanctuary. Although this material had been worked on only between 26 February and 10 April 1935, 365 fragments were put on display at the Archaeological Museum in Florence for the Congress. Noting that the Greek texts from the library published till then were Roman in date, he described the ritualistic contents and hymns of the hieratic papyri, which were sometimes intended to place various body parts of an individual under the protection of a deity, usually Suchos. Two other papyri had representational vignettes of the funeral ceremony and of the deceased. The Demotic texts tended to be more narrative, describing priestly activities, or medical prescriptions. Botti emphasized the partial evidence on which his conclusions were based.¹⁵ As Norsa had ascertained, the Greek papyri included a medical prescription.¹⁶

For the 1932 season, Bagnani's wife Stewart accompanied him to Egypt as she would for all the remaining seasons. Bagnani spent the first few weeks recording blocks and collating texts of the tomb of Queen Nefertari, discovered by Schiaparelli in 1905 but still unpublished at his death in 1928 and already visibly deteriorating. On Saturday 20 February they arrived at Tebtunis where they were soon able to move into a dig house that Anti was building of mud bricks taken from the site. Most of the season was spent clearing the sand away from the temple area and studying the structural, stratigraphic, and epigraphic evidence for the dating of the

¹⁴ Giuseppe Botti, "I papiri ieratici e demotici degli scavi italiani di Tebtynis (Comunicazione preliminare)," *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milan 1936) 217-223. The photo on p. 219 illustrates the suitcase full of papyri.

¹⁵ For later studies of the Demotic material see also G. Botti, "Papyri demotici dell'epoca imperiale da Tebtynis," in *Studi in Onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni II* (Milan 1956) 75-86; G. Botti, "Biglietti per l'oracolo di Soknebtynis in caratteri demotici," *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini II* (Pisa 1955) 9-26.

¹⁶ *PSI* X 1180.

buildings. Among their visitors was Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz, then of Cairo University; according to Bagnani's diary (Friday 15 April), he was "very interested in everything, nice man." Anti accepted a promotion in October 1932 to become the Rector of the University of Padua and, as a result, he was no longer regularly at the site during the excavations, leaving Bagnani in charge as field director for the remaining seasons.

The excavation guestbook runs from 4 February until at least 17 April 1933. Some papyri were found early in the season, as they are referred to in a separate diary kept by Stewart Bagnani.

February 21. Today the Sous-Undi paid us a visit. Preceded by a camel patrol he arrived about 11:30, with attendant satellites consisting of the Secretary of the municipality of Fayoum, the Medical Officer of Fayoum, the Mamour of Etsa & the Police Officer of Tutun... I took them on the dig & to see the road... On our return I showed them the papyrus & the antiquas in the magazzino & off they went. They really came because they have made two obelisks for the station platform & wanted me to write 8 sentences in hieroglyphics!...

Indeed, the first few weeks of the 1933 season were spent preparing for the royal visit to Tebtunis of King Vittorio Emanuele III and Queen Elena on 6 March. The main requirement was a road which was built across the desert to the site. After a lunch the royal visitors were entertained with the excavation of some crocodiles from the southern necropolis. After their departure, Bagnani began excavating at the northeast of the site which was always most threatened by the sebakhin. Here he excavated a frescoed church of which there is a complete description, drawings of Coptic inscriptions, and some watercolours in the Bagnani archives.

In 1934 the largest single concentration of papyri during the excavations was discovered. For this season the Bagnani Archives contain letters from Stewart Bagnani to her mother who was wintering in Cairo,¹⁷ the excavation guestbook, an excavation

¹⁷ Stewart Bagnani's letters are dated with only the day of the week and the date of the month but not the month itself or the year. It has still been possible, however, to arrange them chronologically based on two known dates: a reference

daybook kept by Gilbert Bagnani of the areas he was digging, and two typed manuscripts describing the discovery of the papyri. In addition, there are many aerial photos of the entire site taken in 1934.

Tuesday 20 [February (see note 17 below)] ...I have been sticking pots together all this afternoon & am rather in a stoon in consequence & inclined to see jig-saw puzzles in everything! It is exactly like doing a jig-saw & rather fun really.

...Vogliano has not yet turned up. He is waiting for a letter from Italy something about the concession.... We have been digging houses & today found quite a nice little silver bowl & some quite respectable papyri. The lions are really quite beautiful, most imposing.

Thus, according to Stewart Bagnani's letter, they found in a house some papyri and a little silver bowl. This may very possibly be the "piccolo vaso di argento" mentioned in the preliminary report as having been found in the sottoscala of a house containing papyri in the later-named Insula of the Papyri, since no other silver objects are mentioned for 1934;¹⁸ if so, then Gilbert Bagnani was already excavating in the Insula of the Papyri by 20 February, at least one week before the arrival of Achille Vogliano on the site. The two colossal limestone lions were discovered still on their pedestals in the paved area south of the Roman kiosk located at the north end of the Processional Way.

On Wednesday 28 February, Professor Achille Vogliano, papyrologist from the University of Milan, arrived at the site. The formal circumstances of his presence at the site are still in need of

to the accidental death of the Belgian king "ten days earlier" which occurred on 17 February 1934, and the arrival of Professor Achille Vogliano of Milan on Wednesday 28 February 1934, a date provided by the guestbook. Although the days and dates of February and March 1934 correspond to one another, letters referring either to Vogliano's anticipated arrival or to his activity at the site help to distinguish February from March.

¹⁸ G. Bagnani, "Gli scavi di Tebtunis," *Bollettino d'Arte* 28 (1935) 386 and Fig. 19.

clarification. According to his later report, he was the director,¹⁹ but according to Anti, he was a guest invited to participate in the excavation at Tebtunis while awaiting the formal concession to excavate at Medinet Madi a few miles away.²⁰

Thursday 1 [March 1934, from Stewart Bagnani to her mother]

...I shall come in to see you on Friday week the 9th.. Gil is so busy he can't come & Vogliano is up to his eyes with papyri so I am being bank messenger! Vogliano arrived on Wednesday [February 28, the date he signed the excavation guestbook, was a Wednesday] having been kept in Cairo by some man who was finding paps for him. ...He is very pleased with the paps which Gil has already found which is nice as we didn't think he would be. Also very impressed by the dig & by the house which he says he expected to be much more rough. All of which is alright. ...Is it not sad about the King of the Belgians? You may not know that he was killed when mountain climbing quite alone about ten days ago.²¹

Gil is so busy because now they are digging houses & he must be there the whole time. Also a number of things have come out that have had to be treated at once with stuff to preserve them so he has been working all evening as well.

The first page in Gilbert Bagnani's excavation daybook is entitled "Campagna di scavo della R. Università di Milano." It runs from Sunday 4 March to Monday 19 March and begins with the clearing of a second insula north of the first excavated by the "ispettore;" this might well be Gino Beghè, Breccia's assistant who had the rank of inspector, in which case the reference would be to the houses exposed by Breccia on 1929. Bagnani soon recognized four rooms as shops opening eastward onto a street. Both these shops and the street along their side were covered with a thick ash layer containing papyri, especially literary in the southernmost shop ("Homer, Menander, Euripides, Orator, Apollodorus" written

¹⁹ *P. Mil. Vogl.* I, xvi, n.1.

²⁰ C. Anti, "Scavi di Tebtunis (1930-1935)," *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Florence, 1935, 473.

²¹ King Albert of Belgium died Feb 17, 1934.

in the margin of the daybook). He would note later in his preliminary report that the papyrus-bearing ash stratum covered this insula and the adjacent streets after it had already fallen into disuse. A cellar compartment here also contained a half diptych or writing tablet.²² He identified the second shop as a thermopolion and found a papyrus document of accounts in a hole in the wall beside the oven. The northernmost shop had been exposed already by sebakhin. Bagnani suspended the dig in this area because of the distance required to carry away the sand. Along the west side of the Processional Way he found three more Roman deipneteria, one containing ostraka, as well as a mass of papyri in the street along their west side. Bagnani's daybook ends abruptly with the discovery of the peristyle building at the corner formed by the Processional Way and the temenos of the sanctuary.

4 March [Sunday] 1934

The excavation begins of the insula to the north of the house dug by the inspector. The W [sic] part is discovered on the street with four rooms without apparent connection among them, but each with one doorway on the street. The N corner with a N wall seems very ruined perhaps by a dig for sebakh. The three first rooms contain a thick stratum of ash....²³

5 March [Monday] The excavation continues of thr four rooms, perhaps shops. Of the first, S, from the ash layer literary papyri begin to be found [margin: Homer, Menander, Euripides, Orator, Apollodorus], a lamp with two spouts, two fish, and several vases, amphoras and mats [margin: also statuettes]. The ash layer seems to

²² For a photograph of other writing tablets found in the priests' houses at Tetbtunis in 1931, see C. Anti, "The Cult of the Crocodile in Ancient Egypt," *ILN* May 30, 1931, 908, Fig. 4.

²³ [Note: the original Italian text of Bagnani's excavation daybook is given in the footnotes that follow; the English translation above is mine.] 4 March 1934. Si inizia lo scavo dell'insula a N. della casa scavata dall'ispettore. Si scopre la parte O. [sic] sulla strada con quattro stanze senza apparente connessione tra di loro, ma ciascuno con una porta sulla strada. L'angolo N con muro N sembra assai rovinato forse da uno scavo per il sebakh. Le tre prime stanze contengono fitto strato di cenere....

be concentrated in the SE corner. Room 2 yields very few papyri but many mats and a large handful of dates....

In the street in front of the house are found fragments of papyri and a small column. Beyond the NE corner of the house toward the Kom papyri are found, probably refuse from a clandestine dig, perhaps of room 4 itself, being about .50 below the level of the ground.²⁴

March 6-7 [Tuesday-Wednesday] ...The first shop divided lengthwise in two parts of which the south was a cantina covered with a barrel vault and an entrance through a trap door on the W side.... In the cantina were found a mass of red color, a round box with a lid and half a diptych [writing tablet]. The cantina was only partly buried.

2nd shop certainly a Thermopolion.... At the W wall a fireplace in mud and bricks. In a hole in the wall beside it is found a large document of papyrus ready to put on the fire. The adaptation to a Thermopolion is certainly later than the construction of the row of shops....

In shop 3 a double central enclosure certainly for foodstuff. Only the 1st and 4th preserve the stone sill. A deep papyrus-bearing layer of the street continues to the N....²⁵

²⁴ 5 March. Si continua lo scavo delle quattro stanze, forse negozi. Dalla prima, S, dallo strato di cenere, si cominciano a trovare papiri letterari [Margin: Omero, Menandro, Euripide, Oratore, Apollodoro.], lucerna a due becchi, due pesci, e parecchi vasi, anfore e stracci [Margin: anche statuette]. Lo strato di cenere sembra essere concentrato nell'angolo SE. Stanza 2 dà pochissimi papiri ma molti stracci e grossa manata di dattari....

Nella strada davanti alla casa si trovano frammenti di papiro e collonina. Oltre l'angolo NE della casa verso il Kom si ritrovano papiri probabilmente scarico di scavo clandestino, forse dello stesso vano 4, essendo a circa 0.50 sotto il livello del suolo

²⁵ March 6-7. ...Il primo negozio diviso per lungo in due parti di cui quella sud era continua ricoperta con volta a botte ed ingresso per una botola sul lato W.... Nella cantina si rinvennero un ammasso di colore rosso, una scatola circolare con coperchio e mezzo dittico. La cantina era solo in parte interrata.

2o Negozio certe Thermopolion.... Sul muro W. focolare in fango e mattoni. In buco nel muro di fianco ad esso si trova grosso documento di papiro pronto da mettere sul fuoco. L'adattamento a Termopolio è certamente posteriore alla costruzione della fila di negozi....

March 11-12 [Sunday-Monday] Given the distance of the discharge, the dig of ins[ula] 2 is suspended for the moment and is concentrated there in the street among the deipneteria where, right on the street level corresponding to the lane between insula 1 and 2, a good mass of papyri are found.²⁶

March 14-16 [Wednesday-Friday] Excavating along the west line of the p[rocession]al way a series of three deipneteria is found.... In one of the deipneteria ostraka and a manger for a donkey²⁷

Since Bagnani began digging in the area of the shops on 4 March, soon after Vogliano's arrival, Vogliano's later account describes "his" excavations as beginning with the shops. Then this dig was suspended because of the distance required to remove the overburden from the site, and Vogliano began clearing a raised zone west of the sanctuary where he found no Greek papyri, only Demotic.²⁸ Since this elevated area was so shallow that the floors were soon reached, he decided to abandon the area²⁹ and returned to the first zone or insula.

Stewart Bagnani's letters written after the great discovery of the papyri describe living in the dig house with them. The date of

Nel negozio 3 doppio recinto centrale certo per derrate. Solo 10 e 40 conservano la soglia di pietra. Si continua a N strato alto papirifero della strada....

²⁶ March 11-12. Data distanza degli scarichi si sospende per il momento lo scavo di ins 2 e ci si concentra nella strada tra i deipneteria dove, proprio sul piano stradale in corrispondenza alla via tra insula 1 e 2, si ritrovano buona messe di papiri.

²⁷ March 14-16. Si scava lungo linea occidentale della via p. e si trova serie di tre deipneteria.... In uno di deipneteria ostraka e cesta per somara.

²⁸ A. Vogliano, *P.Mil.Vogl.* I, p. xvi.

²⁹ A. Vogliano, *P.Mil.Vogl.* I, p. xvi, n. 1: "Per essere più esatti, costrinsi il Bagnani—riluttante—a farlo. È un punto delicato, questo, e nel Rapporto sarà illuminato a dovere. Io dirigevo la Missione e la responsabilità delle decisioni spettava a me. Nessuna limitazione d'altre parte mi si era fatto circa la zona di scavare, prima della mia partenza per l'Egitto." Although there is so far no indication in the Bagnani Archives that Gilbert Bagnani himself was digging west of the sanctuary, his alleged reluctance to abandon the brief excavation at an elevated level of a known source of Demotic papyri would be understandable.

Monday 19 on Stewart's letter supports Gilbert Bagnani's date of 14 March for the discovery, in contrast to Vogliano's 23 March.³⁰

Monday 19 [March] ...V. has now made the spare bedroom his study & it is simply snowed under with paps. I despair of ever being able to make it tidy again! He & Gil have to make a journey of exploration soon ...

Monday 26 [March, Stewart Bagnani to her mother]

We arrived quite safely without mishap at about 8:15 [p.m.]. Nothing has happened since as we did not work today it being the big Feast [Bairam]. The prof & I worked fairly hard at the paps & then after tea he & Gil went to pay visits at the Bassils & the police officer at Tutun. The prof has been particularly irritating as he is peeved about the holiday as he can't get his boxes & glass frames etc. & won't understand that this is the yearly great holiday of the Egyptians. Now he is keeping Gil up to Heaven knows what hour while he writes his report! which Gil afterwards has to type! ...

Sorry if this letter is a bit incoherent but V. is writing his report very vocally with Gil making suggestions! Also the old boy provided a bottle of champagne for dinner in celebration of the finds! Also I am sleepy & rather gaga on account as it seems to me of having done nothing but clean, stick together & frame paps for years! They are beginning the new cellar tomorrow & the Lord alone knows where we'll sleep let alone eat if we get the same amount as we did before.

Thursday 29 [March] Your letter didn't arrive till yesterday on account of the holidays I expect. I have no news at all. We have decided to stop the digging when this group of houses is finished which will be in about five days time. I am profoundly thankful as then Gil can get his photos and cataloguing done peacefully to say nothing of the packing of all those foul little things. Could you get me boxes of Meta.³¹ Four of 5'0. I want them for ironing paps. Just post them to the bank. Fayoum doesn't know the stuff. It is not a progressive town. ...

³⁰ A. Vogliano, *P.Mil.Vogl.* I xvi.

³¹ "Meta" is a block of metaldehyde used as fuel for a spirit-stove (*OED*², s.v. meta.2).

The southern insula had been dug by some of Bagnani's workers for an antique dealer "five or six years before" according to his preliminary report. It was formed by a substantial late Ptolemaic building which Bagnani considered a Public Records Office or grapheion because of its relatively impressive architecture, and which had been remodelled and added to in the Roman period.³² The great find of papyri was made on the floor of the cellar compartment or "cantina" of a room near the entrance of a house east of, but not adjoining, the so-called grapheion; Bagnani suggested that the house belonged to the individual who had the contract of the grapheion. The trove of Greek papyri consisted of judicial and administrative documents from AD 120 to 180. Claudio Gallazzi has employed both Bagnani's preliminary report and Vogliano's *P.Mil.Vogl.* publication to analyse and reconstruct the proveniences of the papyri published by Vogliano as originating from the "cantina";³³ the Bagnani papers support his conclusion that the "cantina" deposit on the floor was intended as refuse and not maintained as an archive.

The southern part of the Insula of the Papyri consisted of a tower house previously explored by sebakhin and a fine rectangular house previously sacked by papyri hunters but which still yielded some papyri. In the sottoscala (space beneath the stairs) of this house was found a little silver vase, possibly the one mentioned in Stewart Bagnani's letter of 20 February at the beginning of the season. There were vaulted magazines between the houses and also at the southwest corner of the insula, which was perhaps a public granary given its size. Papyri were found preserved by manure in stables along the south side of the insula.³⁴

Finally, Vogliano and Bagnani dug for a week in the crocodile cemetery to the south of town in hopes of locating Ptolemaic papyri.

³² The "grapheion" is illustrated as Fig 13 in Bagnani's preliminary report, "Gli scavi di Tebtunis," *Bollettino d'Arte* 28 (1935) 382, and there is a large photo of it in the archives but it is clear that the "grapheion" deposit itself was discovered in another building.

³³ C. Gallazzi, "La 'Cantina dei Papiri' di Tebtynis e ciò che essa conteneva," *ZPE* 80 (1990) 283-288.

³⁴ G. Bagnani, "Gli scavi di Tebtunis," *Bollettino d'Arte* 28 (1935) 386-87.

They found five crocodile mummies enveloped partly in papyrus rolls which were mostly accounts. Under the upper jaw of another crocodile mummy they discovered two rolls in Demotic writing.³⁵

On pages 4-5 of a typed manuscript entitled "Digging for Papyri in Egypt" Bagnani described the general conditions in which papyri were found at Tebtunis, mentioning in particular the stables and the hole in the wall in the thermopolion:

DIGGING FOR PAPYRI IN EGYPT

...In one of the streets of the ancient town of Tebtunis which I was excavating this year I found a spot where the prevailing SW wind, blowing down a side street, was broken by a big building. At the foot of the wall it had thus accumulated a quantity of straw and rubbish and among the rubbish I found a considerable number of papyri, which had evidently been thrown into the streets as waste paper and had been carried here by the wind. It was indeed fortunate the inhabitants of Tebtunis were not particularly interested in the cleanliness of their streets. In a neighbouring building I found two stables, adjoining each of which was an open space in which the owners piled the old litter. From these dung-heaps, mixed with the straw, were a number of old documents which had been splendidly preserved by their unsavory surroundings. One fine roll of accounts was discovered crumpled up into a ball, in a hole in the wall next a fireplace, evidently put there to be used for kindling and then forgotten. Very frequently one finds papyri in cellars, where people used to throw documents and papers which were no longer of immediate use but which "might come in useful some day."...

In another typed manuscript entitled "Excavations at Tebtunis" and on which was written in pencil "not published in any form," Bagnani provided a dramatic account of the largest excavated find of papyri at Tebtunis, on Wednesday 14 March 1934. He first

³⁵ While Bagnani was serving as Vice-President of the Archaeological Institute of America from 1951 to 1954, he published an article describing the excavation and handling of the odoriferous crocodile mummies: "The Great Egyptian Crocodile Mystery," *Archaeology* 5 (1952) 76-78.

described in detail the literary papyri found in the ash layer around the insula of the shops. Although the area west of the Processional Way had been dug several years previously by robbers including some of his own workers and with considerable success, he decided to excavate it because from its construction he believed that it was a public building. He then described excavating the mass of papyri found on the floor of a cellar of a building adjacent to the public building, the so-called grapheion or Public Records Office, and how he and Stewart and Vogliano handled all this material. Finally, he outlined the nature of the contents of some of the documentary papyri as known already in 1934.

EXCAVATIONS AT TEBTUNIS

The excavations conducted during the past winter at Tebtunis, an important Graeco-Roman city in the outskirts of the Fayum, by the Italian archaeological Mission and the University of Milan were crowned by the most important discovery of Greek papyri which has been made in the last thirty years. In former seasons we had cleared the great Temple of the Crocodile God, the local divinity of the province, where we had found a good number of hieratic and Demotic papyri. This year we turned our attention to an important quarter of the city which lay to the West of the great road leading to the Temple. Although the area had obviously been subject in former years to the haphazard plundering of the local inhabitants, who, I was informed, had got a quite valuable booty, I believed it would repay systematic investigation. Luck was with us from the very first. The rubbish in the roads round one of the buildings yielded an unexpected number of fragments with a high percentage of literary texts. These are mostly dramatic texts, fragments of works of Euripides, Menander, and perhaps of the Old Comedy. Evidently someone in the neighbourhood was interested in Greek plays. Also in the rubbish of the road we found three columns of a work that was probably an anthology since it contains different compositions totally unconnected with each other. The first part deals with the Eleusinian mysteries and contains a number of quotations from the poets. Then comes a long and rather tiresome disquisition on the subject of exile, rather in the style of Favorinus, a philosopher of the time of Hadrian whose treatise "On Exile" has recently been recovered from an Egyptian

papyrus. Then comes a semi-poetic composition on the flower Antinous, a kind of lotus which was named after Hadrian's young favorite who was drowned in the Nile. The author attempts to connect his fate with the legends of Narcissus, who was transformed into the flower of his name. Finally we have a note on certain cloaks worn by philosophers.

We then turned our attention to a very large block, covering nearly a thousand square yards. It had been formed out of a number of houses of different dates which had been built up against one another so as to form one entire block. In various nooks and crannies of the houses we found papyri, especially in a rubbish heap behind a staircase and in the dung heaps of a couple of stables. The northern part of the block comprised a large building, the oldest one of the block, which from its fine construction was evidently a public building of considerable importance. I was informed by some of my workmen that it had been dug a number of years ago by robbers who had found in it a very large number of papyri which had been disposed of through dealers in the Fayum and Cairo. We decided to dig it out again in the hopes that the robbers might have overlooked something. Our hopes unfortunately were disappointed. They had cleared it out most efficiently, but they had not, as is usually their custom, wantonly destroyed the walls and the building itself which proved to be of considerable interest. Its plan and the character of its masonry confirmed the supposition that it was a public office of some kind and I already suspected that it might have been the grapheion or Public Record Office of the town.

We then started work on the adjoining building, which appeared to be a private house of Roman date. It seemed as though it might promise well, but one of my best workmen, after having excavated the staircase, told me he remembered having dug there many years ago and my spirits fell. Next to the stair was a large square room with a cellar in which I was pinning my hopes. The cellars of the houses are not usually vaulted; the floor of the room above is supported by a number of palm trunk beams and formed by a kind of wattle of reeds daubed with mud and earth. As the houses get filled in with sand the weight causes the floor to give way and we usually find first the layer of reeds, then the trunks and finally the bottom of the cellar. In this particular case we found some of the reeds but underneath them no tree trunks and it rather looked as though this place too had been dug formerly and that the robbers had taken the trunks away for fire wood. All the same I decided to clear the space.

By about half past ten on March 14—we had been working from six o'clock—my foreman brought me some baskets and ropes that were being found in the cellar. We both went down into it and worked along side of the two men who were digging while at the same time I sent to the camp for boxes. In another quarter of an hour we realized what we had found. A layer a couple of feet deep right over the cellar floor was one solid mass of papyri, old baskets, ropes, palm fibre, and old mats, an ideal medium for the preservation of papyri. Snatching a hasty lunch and collecting every box and receptacle of any kind that I could find in the camp I rushed back to the dig, leaving Professor Vogliano, the famous papyrologist of Milan, and my wife at the house to deal with the stuff as I sent it in. We worked like madmen. At five when we usually knocked off I sent away the other men but kept the two in the cellar with their boys and called for lanterns. My wife appeared by and by with a servant and a bottle of whiskey which was appreciated by Christian and Moslem alike. We worked on till eight, by which time we had cleared little more than half the area and were all practically dead from fatigue. Deciding to finish it next morning I returned to camp where I found that practically every available table, chair, shelf, bed even, was occupied by papyri and it looked at first as though we should have to eat on the floor. By next day I cleared the cellar, but for a month the house was more or less uninhabitable, all available space being taken up by Vogliano and my wife who were working all day at unrolling the papyri, restoring them as far as possible and then putting them under glass.

Papyri are naturally very delicate objects and should not be touched any more than is absolutely necessary. One must first of all clean the papyrus and free it as far as possible from the sand and dirt which it has collected. It must then be carefully unfolded, smoothing out the creases and immediately replacing in position by means of transparent gummed paper any fragments that may have broken off. It may often be necessary to strengthen the papyrus by means of special bands of gummed paper. It is then placed between two sheets of glass which are secured by bands. At this work, which requires infinite patience, very delicate fingers and excellent eyesight, my wife far outshone Vogliano and myself and to her is due much of the merit of preserving these magnificent documents.

Even now it is impossible to estimate the material found, but it seems probable that the papyri from this cellar represent a number of old files from the public record office, covering about sixty years from the time of Hadrian to that of Commodus that is to say from about

120 to 180 A.D. There are a large number of receipts and tax lists which will eventually throw an immense amount of light on the fiscal administration of the district. Even more interesting, however, are the legal documents and contracts, wills and private correspondence which was probably filed in reference to the lawsuits. One splendid role [sic] gives the pleadings in a lawsuit between a Greek and a Roman.... Unfortunately we do not know the verdict.

The finest of all the rolls, however, is not a document. Is is an almost perfect roll about five feet in length with a most elaborate commentary on the famous Alexandrian poet Callimachus, giving synopses of many of his lost works and quoting many hitherto unknown verses from them. Its presence in the cellar is perhaps due to the fact that the clerks in the office probably eked out their living by copying literary works in their spare time, and that this roll, which contains an unusual number of slight mistakes, was put away as being probably unmarketable.³⁶

Vogliano published some of the papyri in *P.Mil.Vogl.* I. In his Introduction, however, he provided 23 March as the date for the great discovery and claimed it as his own. Although Vitelli wrote to Norsa that he hoped that Anti would renew the agreement to give any papyri to them,³⁷ on 29 November 1934 Anti decided against the renewal, keeping for himself and his own university the papyri discovered in the subsequent 1935 season.³⁸

The next season began unusually early, on 6 December 1934.³⁹ To the east of the north end of the processional avenue, not far from the previously discovered water conduit, was discovered a Roman "fullonica," including papyri. The insula with the shops was cleared and revealed to be a covered bazaar (this would explain the ash layer which covered this insula as a roof or upper floor, with the

³⁶ This papyrus was published in Medea Norsa and Girolamo Vitelli, *Diegeseis di poemi di Callimaco in un papiro di Tebtynis* (Florence 1934).

³⁷ Donato Morelli and Rosario Pintaudi, eds., *Cinquant'anni di papirologia in Italia* (Naples 1983), letters 318, 319

³⁸ Claudio Gallazzi, *Ostraka da Tebtynis della Università di Padova I* (henceforth *O.Tebt.Pad.* I), vii, from papers in the Anti Archives at Padua.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, vii.

collapse of which the literary papyri fell as well). A private house to the west yielded papyri. North of the temenos wall of the sanctuary, they finished clearing the building with a peristyle courtyard, evidently containing papyri which they hoped would clarify the function of the building. To its north one of a series of magazines contained old cartonnages of mummies as well as an important number of papyri. Nearby, a tower building with massive walls contained a considerable number of papyri.⁴⁰ Many ostraka preserving family receipts were found in a tomb adapted to domestic use in the necropolis south of town.⁴¹

Most of the papyri, ostraka and some other items from the 1935 season apparently remained with Anti who transferred them to Carlo Diano's custody in April 1951. They were identified in 1977 in the Museum of Science, Archaeology and Art at the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Padua. Some of the boxes containing the papyri still had labels describing their provenance on the site. A few Tebtunis papyri were in Medea Norsa's house in Florence when it was destroyed in an air raid 23 March 1944. In addition the Anti archives contained "prospetti, descrizioni, appunti del Bagnani e del Franco [the architect]."⁴² The remaining material sent by Bagnani was consigned to the Museo delle Terme di Roma where part was displayed and part placed in storage until 1970 when it was all transferred to the Museo Egizio in Turin.⁴³

In April 1935 the Fourth International Congress of Papyrology was held at Florence. It was for this Congress that the Demotic papyri in one of the valises from the 1931 season were removed, studied by Botti and exhibited.⁴⁴ On April 29 Anti discussed the

⁴⁰ "Tebtunis. Fouilles de la Mission royale archéologique italienne," *Chronique d'Égypte* 10 (1935) 281-282.

⁴¹ *O.Tebt.Pad.* I.

⁴² Guido Avezzu, "Nuovi papiri della missione archeologica Anti-Bagnani a Umm el Breighat (Tebtynis)," *BIFG* 4 (1977-78) 192-96.

⁴³ Guido Bastianini and Claudio Gallazzi, "Un'iscrizione inedita di Tebtynis e la synodos di Doryphorus," *ZPE* 89 (1991) 44-46.

⁴⁴ G. Botti, "I Papiri ieratici e demotici degli scavi italiani di Tebtynis," *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Florence 1935) 217-223; cf. p. xxi.

various seasons' accomplishments at Tebtunis with a brief summary of the major papyrological finds and indicated the intention to continue excavating among the houses surrounding the sanctuary and to look for the burial place of the sacred crocodiles, presumed to be west of the town and approached by the westward dromos.⁴⁵ Neither Anti nor Bagnani published a preliminary report for the 1935 season, although Bagnani gave a typed manuscript to Anti where it was found in his archives in Padua.⁴⁶ The effect, if any, of Vitelli's death September 2, 1935 on the subsequent funding of the Tebtunis excavations is not yet known.

There was indeed a brief additional season from [Sunday] 5 April 1936 until at least [Thursday] 7 May 1936, again according to the excavation guestbook. This is verified by the workers' pay sheets for two weeks from Sunday 26 April, also in the Bagnani archives. So far, however, no other record of this previously undocumented season has come to light.

The Bagnanis did not return again to Egypt and formally settled at Port Hope, Ontario in 1937, adding a large extension to their country home to store and display their collections of books and heirlooms. Bagnani was invited to teach at the University of Toronto in 1945, and upon his retirement in 1965 he and his wife contributed to the creation of the Classics Department at Trent University in Peterborough near their home by teaching various courses in Classics and Art History. Before Bagnani's second retirement in 1975, he was granted an honorary L.L.D. from Trent in 1971. The Bagnani's interests and activities were so diverse and wide-ranging that their experiences in Egypt faded into the background. Gilbert Bagnani died 10 February 1985, and Stewart Bagnani in May 1996.

⁴⁵ C. Anti, "Scavi di Tebtunis (1930-1935)," *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Florence 1935) 473-478. Although Vogliano's paper read by a colleague was entitled "Gli scavi della Missione Archeologica Milanese a Tebtynis," it in fact discussed some papyri he found at Medinet Madi.

⁴⁶ Claudio Gallazzi, "Fouilles anciennes et nouvelles sur le site de Tebtynis," *BIFAO* 89 (1989) 187, n.21.

Excavations have been resumed at Tebtunis since 1988 by IFAO and the Institute of Papyrology of the University of Milan directed by Professor Claudio Gallazzi, partly with the goal of publishing the old excavations. Combining the written, architectural and photographic evidence from the Anti, Bagnani, and Vogliano Archives with the material remains on the site may yield still more insights and results from the Italian excavations at Tebtunis in the 1930s.⁴⁷

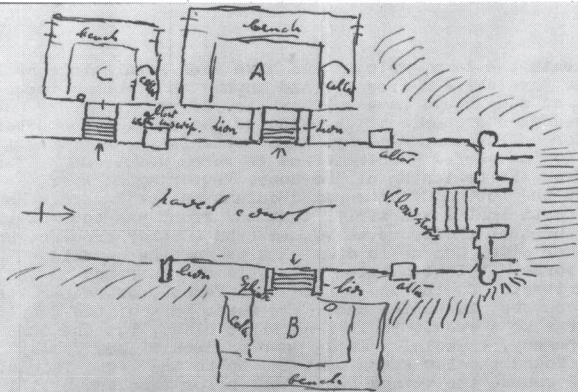
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⁴⁷ I would add a final plea for any reader aware of any additional information regarding Gilbert or Stewart Bagnani or their early lives in Europe and Egypt to contact the writer (ibegg@TrentU.ca).

(to Begg, "It was Wonderful...")

Plate 23



Umm el Breigat

Thursday 22/1/31

Dearest love,

the dig, of which you will find a sketch above is getting curiouseer and curiouseer. Also in many ways more troublesome: it is far more than we expected. From my other letters you will have got an idea of how we worked. In our first days we found what we called Temple A with the two lions, then Temple B in front of it; then we got the altar with the inscription, then Temple C. The level of the paved court is about three metres below the soil so when we got that far by means of trenches we decided to cart all the sand away from the central court and then stretch ourselves. Thus the work, since I last wrote, has been going rather more slowly since we have moved some 7 or 800 cubic metres of sand. We expected to find another Temple opposite C but we only got another lion, the mangies of the lot, in fact the limestone is so bad that he falls to pieces if you look at him. He looks rather like a restoration of Neanderthal man. All the Temples, I may add, are in mud brick, reinforced in a few places with wooden beams: only the staircases and their facings to the sides are in limestone. Of course these three Temples all exactly alike were very odd, but we said to ourselves the odder the better. We thought that the benches were for the crocodiles which were worshipped here. After clearing the central portion of the court we decided to push on to the N and S. In the latter direction the excavation is easy but to the N we have a huge mound formed by the dumps of Breccia and of Anti's last years dig. The had dumped there because they thought that there was a big open square there. We were terrified therefore lest the court should continue

Letter: Thursday 22 January 1931, Gilbert Bagnani at Umm el Breigat (Tebtunis) to Stewart Bagnani
(Photograph Courtesy of Trent University Archives)

A Note on *O.Mich.* I 249: λόγος οἴνου σακ()

In *Scriptiunculae* I 153-55, under a rubric of “Σάμιον: A Wine Measure,” H. C. Youtie undertook to emend the reading of λόγος οἴνου σακ() in *O.Mich.* I 249.1-2, stating that nowhere else has σάκκος been used as a liquid measure, and the object itself, manufactured as a rule from goat's hair, was not adapted to the storage and transport of wine. He went on to say that “the *saccus vinarius* was something quite different; this was usually a linen or hair cloth for straining wine. In this sense the papyri use σάκκος τρίχινος,” From a paleographical standpoint, Youtie viewed the κ of σακ() as being “practically identical in form with μ.”¹ Hence he suggests that σαμ() be read, and that as a wine measure it is likely to be Σάμ(ιον).

On the principle of *lectio difficilior*, I would like to make a case for retaining σακ() rather than changing it to Σαμ(). First of all we have to clear some of the underbrush, namely, that sacks as a rule were manufactured from goat's hair and that τρίχινος is concerned only with human or animal hair. Youtie has stated (154) that the sack was commonly found in Egypt as a container or measure of grain. It is difficult to believe that all the thousands of such sacks of grain that were shipped to Rome or Constantinople were made of goat's hair; more likely they were made of the poorest quality of linen. Secondly, the word τρίχινος, subsumed under the general meaning of “hair,” can in a broader sense be applied to plant fibers such as flax, or even to animal hides (cf. τρίχιν and τρίχινος in *LSJ*).

Turning to οἴνου σακ(), “a sack of wine” would appear to be a solecism, but in common acceptation its meaning is quite clear, namely that it was a container of wine, not necessarily a container

¹ I must admit that I found Youtie's explanation of κ becoming μ difficult to follow.

made of goats' hair or linen. In this context, οἴνου σακ() can be taken as a wineskin, a container for wine made out of leather. Support for this position is provided by Epiphanius (A.D. IV) in the Syriac version of his treatise on weights and measure; the Greek texts are only abbreviated versions of the Syriac.

Under the heading "The *nēvel* of wine," Epiphanius states, "The *nēvel* is a measure that is put into two wineskins... which consists of 150 *xestai*...."² In Syriac the word *zq'* is the equivalent of Greek σάκκος and "sack" in many other languages.³ The word *nēvel* (נבל in Hebrew) is an empty skin, or an empty leather skin used as the bulging sounding chamber (sound box) of a stringed musical instrument such as a lyre or lute.⁴

Epiphanius goes on to say that the *nēvel* of wine is "that which a man, after filling [150 *xestai* in two skins or sacks], would draw up by man power from the pit of the wine press, as much as he was able to lift with his two hands from the pit of the wine press." These two wineskins, in terms of water not of wine, would weigh close to 100 lb each, suitable for wineskins but not for clay jars.

The use of σακ() in *O.Mich.* I 249 to mean a container made out of an animal hide may be a *hapax* in the papyri, but in modern Greek the word σακκας crops up as "a carrier of water in sacks of skin" (ὁ μεταφέρων ὕδωρ δερματίνων σάκκων).⁵

Not to be overlooked is the possibility that the writer of the ostrakon had σακ() [=σάκκος] in mind and, by metathesis, wrote σακ(). However, σακ() is repeated in every line (2 to 10) of the document save the first and we would have to surmise that he did so without giving it a thought.⁶ There is yet another possibility that

² *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures—The Syriac Version*, J. E. Dean, ed., *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 11 (Chicago 1935) 32 (p. 50). Greek versions omit the phrase "put into wine skins" (E. Mouslas, ed., *Tò Περί μέτρον καὶ σταθμῶν*, *Εὐλογία* 44 [1973], line 749).

³ See, e.g., the etymological entry for "sack" in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

⁴ See "Music and Musical Instruments: Chordophones," *Anchor Biblical Dictionary* IV.937.

⁵ *Mega Lexikon* XII.6456. See also P. Chatraine, *Dict. étymologique*, II.985.

⁶ The word σάκκος in the literary sources was used to signify a wineskin, but in the documentary papyri, as indicated in a screening of the *Duke Databank of*

the writer of this account came from a Semitic background and had in mind the common semitic word *zq'* or *šaq* for a container made out of leather. Apart from these possibilities, what is reasonably certain that *O.Mich.* I 249 does not deal with Samian wine, but with an account of wine given to a number of individuals in containers which were used to hold liquids, so-called wineskins.⁷

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Documentary Papyri (PHI CD-ROM #7), the word is not found in a clear association with wine. It is interesting to note that the editor of *P.Wisc.* II 80 translates ὀκκός in lines 84, 88, 117, 155 and 156 as "sack." Chatraine provides no etymology for the word.

⁷ I have treated the subject of wineskins in a followup article "πάτιον/πάθιον—A Wineskin" *ZPE* 121 (1998) 226-228.

Epiphanius' *Sabitha* In Egypt: Σάμβαθον/κάμπαθον/κάμαθον

In an article that focussed upon the commercial pottery of Ascalon that had not surfaced in the archaeological record, this writer came upon a reference in Epiphanius' *De mensuris et ponderibus*, known in Syriac and Greek versions, to a large, wide-mouthed vessel that that was used to draw off the unfermented wine (must) from the treading floor of a wine press.¹ Of the two versions the Syriac provides a fuller description of a jar called a *Sabitha* in Greek. The translation of the Syriac reads as follows:

(As for) the *shâfithâ* this is a Syriac term which occurs as a measure among the people of Gaza and Ashkelon and the rest of the seacoast called the Shefelah. Hence in Gaza and Ashkelon they call the jar which is the *shâfithâ* the *sapation* which is translated "the drawing vessel of the wine press," for with the measure they draw out and carry wine. But among the people of Ashkelon it consists of 22 *xestai*, among those of Azotus 18 *xestai*, and among those of Gaza 14 *xestai*.²

A clipped version of the above appears in Epiphanius' Greek text: Συριατικόν ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐρμηνεύεται ληνιαῖον ἀντλήμα, παρὰ Ἀσκαλωνίταις ξέστων κβ' ("Sabitha. This is a Syriac word which means a wine-press vessel, among the Ascalonites it holds 22 *xestai*").³

¹ P. Mayerson, "Another Unreported Ascalonian Jar: The *Sabitha* / *Sapation*," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 46 (1966) 258-261. See also P. Mayerson, "The Gaza 'Wine' Jar (Gazition) and the 'Lost' Ashkelon Jar (Askalônian)," *Israel Exploration Journal* 42 (1992) 76-80.

² J. E. Dean, editor, *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures—The Syriac Version*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 2, (Chicago 1935), par. 41, pp. 55-56; par. 21, p. 136.

³ Hultsch, *MSR* I.83.27.I.

Through the good offices of Professor Bagnall, I was referred to Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* I 170-71 and II 804 with the suggestion that there might be a connection between the word $\sigma\alpha\mu\beta\alpha\theta\omicron\nu$ in the Egyptian documents and Epiphanius' *sabitha/sapation*.⁴ Youtie (I.153-55; 170) came upon a problematic reading in *O.Mich.* I 249 and suggested that "accounts of sacks [$\sigma\alpha\kappa(\kappa\omega\nu)$] of wine" would make more sense if the abbreviation was resolved as $\Sigma\alpha\mu(\omega\nu)$, i.e., "accounts of Samian wine."⁵ The change led him to consider other combinations of $\sigma\alpha\mu$ - such as $\sigma\alpha\mu\beta\alpha\theta\omicron\nu$. In II 803, Youtie thought that the word was "probably of Egyptian origin." However, Epiphanius mentions that in Gaza and Ascalon, the Sabitha is called the *sapation*, which is a variant of Syriac šapītā and Palestinian-Aramaic šepīātā (pl.). Both Sabitha and Sapation represent the same vocables.⁶ $\Sigma\alpha\mu\beta\alpha\theta\omicron\nu/\sigma\alpha\mu\phi\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ represent nasalized versions of Syriac and Greek *sabitha*.

Turning to the papyri, three documents associate the words *sambathon* and *samphaton* specifically with wine—*PSI* VII 829, p. 21, and XIV 1423.23, and *P.Wisc.* II 62.4—while another—*P.Ryl.* IV 630/637.475—almost certainly does. In *PSI* VII 829, a fragmentary letter of Arios to a fellow monk bidding him to obtain certain foodstuffs, the writer adds "get 5 *sambatha* of wine must(?). The broken text reads λάβαι (=λάβει) μ[.] οἴνου $\sigma\alpha\mu\beta\alpha\theta\alpha$ μουστοι...*PSI* XIV 1423, the rather illiterate letter of a monk to his abbot regarding some tasks assigned to the monk, one of which was to "take a $\sigma\alpha\mu\phi\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ of wine for his boat." *P.Wisc.* II 62, a memorandum concerning the order of commodities, mentions "2 *sambatha* of (weak?) wine." *P.Ryl.* IV 630/637, an account of travel expenses for food and drink at Ostracine, lists the price paid for grapes, cheese,

⁴ I had already searched $\sigma\alpha\mu\beta\alpha\tau\iota$ - on the *Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri* (PHI CD-ROM #7) with no results, but it did not occur to me at the time to investigate any of the nasalized versions. Nasalization of labials, especially of p and b, is not an uncommon feature in Greek and Semitic. See Youtie *Scriptiunculae* II.803 and nn. 7 and 8.

⁵ See my article "A Note on *O.Mich.* I 249," on pp. 211-213 of the present issue of *BASP*.

⁶ Mayerson, "Another Unreported Ascalonian Jar," (see n. 1) 260-61.

cucumbers, fish (?), and "for one (or 3) *sambathon/a*, 300 drachmae" (ὕπερ κάμβαθ() α/γ (δρ.) τ).⁷

So much for *sambatha* of wine. Several other documents illustrate the common practice of using wine vessels for contents other than wine—in archaeological terms for secondary use.⁸ In *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2728.33 Capitolinus writes to a fellow monk concerning a number of deliveries and asks him to send some items, one of which is a κάμβαθον βωριδίων, "a (large) jar of pickled mullet." In *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2729.9, Dioscurides writes to a fellow monk to receive from the sailor of their bishop's ship "one *sambathon* containing 2,700 myriads (of drachmae)." In both these instances, the size of the jar, if it approximated the Palestinian *sabitha*, lent itself as a shipping container for bulky items. Other odds and ends relating to secondary use include *P.Oxy.* X 1290.1 a κάμβαθον ἐλ., undoubtedly one of oil.⁹ *P.Münch.* III:1 124.4 notes a *sambathon* of cheese.

In sum, in emending *O.Mich.* I 249, Youtie has put us on the track of Egyptian versions of Epiphanius' *sabitha*. Whether any of these vessels held a fixed number of *xestai* is not indicated, nor are we sure that they functioned as they did at Ascalon, a major wine producing center, to calculate the production of a wine press or the quantity of must transferred to storage jars to complete the process of fermentation. What is of further interest is that all of the above

⁷ See note to l. 475, where the editor, finding the entry obscure, suggests that κάμβαθ() is possibly καββα(ων) "and the item may represent some payment to local Jewish funds." This suggestion is picked up in *CPJ* III 457c, but is rebutted by J. Rea in *Class.Rev.* 16 (1966) 41, where he calls the vessel a "pot" or a "container." On the other hand, in *CJP* III 475a and d (= *P.Oxy.* VI 903.19) the editors rightly find *sambath-* to signify "Sabbath" but in the context of the above account, a jug of wine, or perhaps 3, was needed to wash down the food and/or for relaxation after a day's journey.

⁸ See Mayerson, "The Gaza 'Wine' Jar," (n. 1 above) 76-80 (n.1) for the secondary use of Gazition and Ascalonion wine jars.

⁹ Representing κάμ(β)αθον ἐλ(αίου)?

documents are dated to the fourth century with the exception of *P.Oxy.* X 1290 which is of the fifth.

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A Concordance of C. Wessely, *Schrifttafeln zur älteren lateinischen palaeographie*

Carl Wessely's *Schrifttafeln zur älteren lateinischen palaeographie* was published in Leipzig in 1898, and copies are very difficult to find today.¹ Although all of the documentary texts (and many of the non-documentary texts) have been republished, Wessely's volume is still a valuable resource for the study of Latin palaeography. The present concordance is intended to facilitate use of Wessely's publication.

The texts are transcribed or described in the introductory pages and reproduced in complete or partial facsimile on twenty tabulæ (citations to page and tab. numbers follow Wessely numbers in the concordance below). Re-editions of these texts in *Ch.L.A.*, *C.Pap.Lat.*, *C.L.A.* (*Codices Latini Antiquiores*), Seider (R. Seider, *Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri* [Stuttgart 1967-1990]), Tjäder (J.-O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445-700* [Lund 1954-]) and other publications are noted where applicable.

Wessely	<i>Ch.L.A.</i>	<i>C.Pap.Lat.</i>	Seider	Other
1 (5-6; I)	XLIII 1241	247	I 3-4	
2 (6; II)				
3 (6; II)				
4 (6; II)				
5 (6; II)				
6 (6-7; III)	X 411	118	I 34	<i>BGU</i> II 696
7 (7; IV)	III 200	120	I 36	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 229
8 (7-8; V)	XLIII 1242	110	I 19	
9 (8; V)	XLV 1323	116	I 21	

¹I am grateful to the Institut für Papyrologie in Heidelberg for making its copy available to me for the purpose of compiling this concordance.

<u>Wessely</u>	<u>Ch.L.A.</u>	<u>C.Pap.Lat.</u>	<u>Seider</u>	<u>Other</u>
10 (8; V)	III 204	191	I 37	<i>P.Grenf.</i> II 108; <i>P.Lond.</i> III 730
11 (8; V)	XLV 1322	313		
12 (8; VI)	III 205	142	I 48	<i>P.Grenf.</i> II 110; <i>P.Lond.</i> III 731
13 (8-9; VI)				
14 (9; VI)	XLV 1325	232		<i>SPP</i> XX 283
15 (9; VII)				
16 (9; VII)	XLV 1319	272	I 57	<i>SPP</i> XX 284
17 (9; VII)	XLV 1329	199		<i>SPP</i> XX 286
18 (9; VII)	XLV 1330	199	I 58	<i>SPP</i> XX 287
19 (9; VII)	XLIII 1249	230		
20 (9; VII)		277	II.1 68	Pack ² 3003; <i>C.L.A.</i> V 696
21 (9; VIII)	XLV 1320	267		
22 (9; IX)	XVII 657	243	I 60	
23 (10; XVI)	XLIII 1244	322		
24 (10; X)		245	II.2 38	Pack ² 2984; <i>C.L.A.</i> X 1538
25 (10; X)	XLIV 1264	183	I 59	<i>SPP</i> XX 289
26 (10; X)	XLV 1321	A.16		
27 (10; X)	XLIII 1243	147		
28 (10; XI)	XVII 653		I 63	Tjäder 4-5
29 (10; XII)	XX 705		I 61	Tjäder 1
30 (10; XII)			II.2 50	<i>C.L.A.</i> V 573
31 (10; XIII)	III 181		I 64	Tjäder 35
32 (11; XIV)				<i>C.L.A.</i> V 562
33 (11; XIV)				<i>C.L.A.</i> I 35
34 (11; XV)				<i>C.L.A.</i> I 19
35 (11; XVI)				<i>C.L.A.</i> I 99
36 (11; XVI)				<i>C.L.A.</i> I (11)**
37 (11; XVI)				<i>C.L.A.</i> I 12
38 (11; XVII)				<i>C.L.A.</i> I (11)**
39 (11; XVIII)				<i>C.L.A.</i> III 295

Wessely	<i>Ch.L.A.</i>	<i>C.Pap.Lat.</i>	Seider	Other
40 (11; XIX)				<i>C.L.A.</i> IV 488
41 (11; XIX)				<i>C.L.A.</i> I 44
42 (11; XIX)		84	II.2 12	Pack ² 2957; <i>C.L.A.</i> VIII 1042
43 (11; XIX)		75	II.2 14	Pack ² 2985; <i>C.L.A.</i> VIII 1033
44 (11-12; VII)		280	II.1 58	<i>C.L.A.</i> VIII 1171
45 (12; XX)				<i>C.L.A.</i> I 1
46 (12; XX)				
47 (12; XX)				
48 (12; XX)		43	II.1 14	Pack ² 3000; <i>P.Oxy.</i> I 30; <i>C.L.A.</i> II 207
49 (12; XX)		10	II.1 49	Pack ² 2941; <i>P.Oxy.</i> I 31; <i>C.L.A.</i> II 134
50 (12; XX)	IV 267	249		<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 32

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BOOK REVIEWS

Meyer, Marvin and Paul Mirecki, editors. *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 129. Leiden-New York-Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995. Pp x + 476 + 8 plates, ISBN: 90-04-10406-2. Nlg 244,00/US \$157.50.

This book comprises 22 essays delivered at a conference on "Magic in the Ancient World," held in August 1992 at the University of Kansas. Its first part, "Defining Magic and Ritual Power," is devoted to the thorny methodological issues associated with the very term "magic." Jonathan Z. Smith surveys the complex relations between the Western concepts of "magic," "religion," and "science," and concludes that there is no need to use the term "magic" in academic discourse—and no avoiding the fact that it *is* used by various cultures in *their* discourse. Turning to the Greek Magical Papyri, Smith rightly stresses the centrality of the home, rather than the temple, as the preferred locus of their ritual activities, and the centrality of writing, rather than sacrifice, as the main cultic event. Next, Fritz Graf examines the development of the Greek and Roman concepts of magic, and of magic-related terminology, concluding that both Frazerian dichotomies, religion/magic and science/magic, were already used in the Greek discourse of fifth century Athens. Finally, Robert Ritner uses the ancient Egyptian sources, where there is no distinction between "magic" and "miracle," to argue that the setting up of "magic" vs. "religion" is a typically Western (and, more specifically, Christian) construct, that should not be imposed upon cultures which employ no such dichotomy. Unfortunately, while the three papers pull in quite different directions, they never engage each other directly.

The second part, "Magic and Ritual Power in the Ancient Near East," fulfills few of the promises implied in such a wide-ranging title. Richard H. Beal surveys the various rituals employed by the Hittite army before, during, or after a military campaign. Billie

Jean Collins examines the preparations for and conduct of Hittite ritual meals. J. A. Scurlock reviews Mesopotamian rituals for utilizing wandering ghosts to send illnesses from an afflicted person back to the Netherworld, where they would cause no harm.

The next part, "Magic and Ritual Power in Judaism and Early Christianity," is more substantial. It opens with Brian B. Schmidt's analysis of the story of the "witch" of En-Dor in 1 Samuel 28, claiming that the scene is based not on Canaanite but on Mesopotamian necromantic practices, and that the reference to *elohim* in vs. 13 should not be interpreted to mean that the Israelite dead had a divine status. In both instances, the recurrent recourse to textual emendations and to *ex silentio* arguments greatly weakens the central claim. Next, Stephen D. Ricks suggests that in both the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament magic involved the same praxis as religion, but was carried out by outsiders and seen by society as subversive. Jonathan Seidel's essay examines the rabbinical definitions of magic and magicians, and the stereotypes associated with such activities in the Babylonian Talmud. Michael D. Swartz deals with two aspects of Jewish magical piety in Antiquity and the Middle Ages—the appeal to tradition, and the uses of magical rituals for obtaining memory in the study of Torah. Rebecca Lesses applies J. L. Austin's *How to Do Things With Words* in her analysis of *The Adjuration of the Prince of the Presence* in the so-called Hekhalot-literature.

The fourth, and finest, part deals with "Magic and Ritual Power in Greek Antiquity." William Brashear presents several unpublished magic-related papyri from Berlin, all in a very fragmentary state: one obscure text (an account?), an astrological *apotelesmatikon*, a magical recipe, a Christian amulet, two fragments of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*, a horoscope, and an astrological text, all accompanied by the editor's characteristically erudite notes. Roy Kotansky examines the Greek exorcistic amulets and surveys the Semitic origins of the late-antique notions of demon-possession and the concomitant praxis of exorcism. In spite of the author's somewhat narrow perspective (most of the exorcistic beliefs and rituals which he labels "Jewish" actually are of a Babylonian origin), this is an important contribution to the study of the history of late antique magic. In the next paper, Leda Jean Ciruolo surveys

the different methods prescribed in the *PGM* for procuring a *paredros*. Christopher A. Faraone's excellent essay reexamines the much-studied "Phlinna Papyrus" (*PGM* XX), and suggests that the seven-maiden *historiola* need not be specifically Egyptian in origin (as suggested by Ludwig Koenen and accepted by most subsequent scholars). Adducing Mesopotamian and other parallels to the various constituents of the *historiola*, and stressing the typically Semitic *parallelismus membrorum* of its first two lines, Faraone convincingly demonstrates that the spell is inherently "multi-cultural," and may indeed have been transmitted by a Gadarene woman, as its "title" claims. Next, David Martinez analyzes the vows of abstinence embedded in the erotic magic of late antiquity—"may she neither eat or drink until she comes to me," etc.—in light of the vows of abstinence in earlier Greek and Jewish literatures. Finally, Sarah Iles Johnston's essay, on the Greek child-killing demon(s), examines their "biographies," iconographic features, and supposed origins, concluding that it was their liminal, inter-taxa natures that made them so dangerous in the Greek popular mind. Johnston also suggests, less convincingly, that such an analysis diminishes the need for a quest for the Near Eastern origins of such demonic beings (as undertaken, most recently, by Walter Burkert), for it shows that the Greeks, like many other cultures, merely marginalized the undesirable by labeling it demonic.

The book's fifth section, "Magic and Ritual Power in Roman and Late Antiquity," opens with Oliver Phillips' analysis of Lucan, *BC* 9.619-937 and the snake-charming *Psylli*. Next comes Jacques van der Vliet's thorough survey of the various traditions of Satan's fall reflected in Coptic magical *historiolae*. His conclusion, that the Coptic magicians adapted an existing myth in its various variants, rather than invent their own myths, is probably valid for other ancient magical traditions as well (but cf. below). Jason David BeDuhn's attempt to utilize the existence of "demon bowls" written in the "Manichaean" script to locate some traces of a specifically Manichaean magical tradition unfortunately must remain very tentative, given the paucity and ambiguity of the evidence he adduces. Finally, Todd Breyfogle reexamines the Priscillianists' supposed involvement with magic, stressing the relative paucity of

magic-accusations in the 380s CE and concluding that the differences between Priscillian and his opponents focused on theology and not on issues of idolatry and magic.

The sixth and final part, "Myth, Magic, and the Power of the Word," includes one essay only, David Frankfurter's interesting analysis of the so-called magical *historiolae*. Adopting a cross-cultural perspective, and relying on the insights of comparative religion, Frankfurter examines the various mechanisms by which such "myths of power" may have "worked" for the ancient practitioners and their clients.

As often is the case with conference proceedings, this is a very mixed bag. Some of the papers merely repeat, or nuance, what their authors had already said elsewhere. Others embark on long descriptive journeys whose aims—or even relevance—are left for seers to divine. But there are also some original and interesting studies here, as the above summary has tried to highlight. In part, the book's uneven quality stems from the apparent relative inexperience of some of its contributors, which in itself is a positive sign of the growing interest in the study of ancient magic. But one may also see here the traces of a major problem besetting the study of ancient magic, namely, that the scholars engaged in it often seem unsure as to what it is that they must do beyond publishing new magical materials (a task undertaken here only by Brashear) or describing what they find in "their" sources. It is symptomatic of this situation that of the twenty two papers collected here only a precious few try to break the artificial academic barriers separating the magical traditions of different ancient peoples (and Faraone's paper is an excellent example of how fruitful such a perspective can be). Even fewer essays, and especially Frankfurter's, try to go beyond the textual evidence and suggest comparative or theoretical frameworks within which such evidence might profitably be examined. Given the impressive spate of publications of new sources for the study of ancient magic, such novel ways of studying the growing mountains of evidence are sorely needed, all the more so since many of the old ways have proved too problematic to be retained.

One final weakness evident throughout the book is that neither the conference itself nor the volume's editors seem to have

encouraged a direct confrontation between the different contributors' viewpoints and methodologies. For example, one of Frankfurter's main claims—that ancient magicians made up their own myths as the need arose—stands in direct opposition to van der Vliet's insistence that the Coptic magicians abstained from such innovations. Such disagreements might have led to a fruitful debate, but its echoes are nowhere to be heard in either essay. Even more telling, the methodological debates and insights embedded in the book's first part are usually ignored in the subsequent essays, most of whose authors are happy either to ignore the methodological issues altogether or to acknowledge the difficulties involved and quickly move elsewhere.

To sum up, it might fairly be said that newcomers to the study of ancient magic would be better served by other recent volumes on the subject, more systematic and more consistent than the present volume. More experienced wizards, on the other hand, would find here some significant contributions to the ongoing study of magic and related activities in the ancient world.

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Schüssler, Karlheinz, ed. *Biblia coptica: Die koptischen Bibeltexte*, Bd. I *Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament: sa 1-20*, Lieferung 1. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1995. Pp. vii + 125 including 5 plates. ISBN 3-447-03782-2. DM 88.00.

Anyone who has worked on Coptic biblical manuscripts knows what a lengthy process their codicological reconstruction can be: there are very few fully preserved Coptic biblical codices and what fragments of them remain are scattered in numerous collections around the world. Similarly time-consuming is tracking down parallel biblical material for textual criticism. The volume under review helps scholars enormously on both counts. It is the first instalment of a new series, entitled "Biblia Coptica: Die koptischen Bibeltexte," which is designed ultimately to provide a list of all known Coptic biblical texts, published or unpublished, and set them into their codicological context wherever possible. The series begins with texts written in the Sahidic Coptic dialect, ordered, in theory if not in practice, by their biblical content, starting with the Old Testament. Publications of lists of Achmimic, Faiyumic and Bohairic Coptic biblical texts are also envisaged (K. Schüssler, "Das Projekt 'Biblia Coptica Patristica,'" *OrChr* 79 [1995] 224-8).

The first instalment lists twenty manuscripts (sa 1-20) of varying degrees of preservation, containing texts from *Gen* through to I *Sam*, as well as *Sus*, *Tob*, *Lk* and *Acts*. The ordering of the manuscripts does not always follow the biblical sequence: e.g. sa 7 and sa 8 contain *Ex* but follow sa 6 which preserves *Lev*, *Num* and *Deut*. Furthermore, the first instalment does not exhaust the repertory of *Gen* texts: e.g. three (sa 29, 36 and 47) are included in the second instalment in this series (sa 21-48) published in 1996.

Five of the texts are written on papyrus, and fifteen on parchment; one (sa 16^{lit}) is bilingual Coptic-Greek; and they date from the 4-11th century (12th century according to p. 4 contrary to information recorded in Tables 4.1 and 4.2). One Coptic text, sa 19, was reused three hundred years later by a Syriac scribe. Twenty manuscripts may not seem a great deal for one fascicle until one realises that they have been reconstructed from almost 900

individual leaves comprising almost 150 separate inventory numbers. Leaves from six of the twenty codices (sa 1, 3, 4, 9, 11 and 20) are now distributed in six different collections worldwide. The manuscript leaves are housed in twenty collections, mostly institutional but also two private (listed on pp. 111-14), and predominantly from four major collections: the British Library in London; the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome; and the Papyrussammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. S. has attempted to study all of the manuscripts either in the original, or through microfilm or photographs.

S.'s work means that scholars working on Coptic biblical texts other than the Gospel texts, which are covered in Schmitz and Mink's indispensable list,¹ no longer have to trawl through the interminable lists of biblical manuscripts compiled by Hyvernat (starting over one hundred years ago in the *RevBib* 5 [1896] 427-33, 540-69), Vaschalde, Till and Nagel, published in a variety of places. The major drawback of S.'s new corpus is that he utilises the same 'sa' designation for the Old Testament Sahidic manuscripts in this first fascicle as is used for Sahidic Gospel manuscripts by Schmitz and Mink. The result is that Schmitz and Mink's sa 1 differs from S.'s sa 1 (e.g. Schmitz and Mink sa 289 is now S. sa 16^{lit}). Although S. aims ultimately to supersede Schmitz and Mink's list, this replication will undoubtedly cause confusion for some time to come unless scholars take care to distinguish between the two different systems.

S.'s list includes Greek fragments associated with the Coptic biblical texts and aims to be more comprehensive than all of its precursors: in addition to the biblical manuscripts themselves and biblical citations in lectionaries (denoted by a superscript ^L following the manuscript designation), quotations from liturgical texts (^{lit}), (school) exercises (^{ex}), and other diverse sources (^{div}) are to be included. Magical material featuring biblical passages endowed with ritual power will presumably be included in the 'div'

¹F.-J. Schmitz, and G. Mink, *Liste der koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments I, Die sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien Teile 1-2*, ANTF 8, 13 and 15 (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986, 1989 and 1991).

category although it might conceivably have warranted its own 'mag' category. Only one manuscript from these special categories is included in the first fascicle (sa 16^{lit}).

Four introductory pages discuss the development of the list and introduce the format in which information about the manuscripts is presented; then there are fifteen pages explaining the extensive abbreviations employed in the list (although lacking an entry on p. 10 for the abbreviation ZNW [*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*]) which help to make it so concise, including eleven pages of bibliographic references.

For each manuscript the following information (based on the standards set in Schmitz and Mink) is recorded: the sa number assigned by S.; type of manuscript (e.g. Genesis Codex); current location and inventory number(s) of the manuscript (leaves); contents; codicological structure (elucidated by diagrams); date; edition details; writing material (papyrus etc.); preservation details; dimensions of leaf; pages/sections preserved; columns; lines; dimensions of written text and inter-columnar spacing; description of script; relevant literature; and any other pertinent information which does not fit into any of the above categories. It would have been more user-friendly if the 'Literatur' section of the listing for each manuscript had been arranged so that secondary literature involving corrections to the *ed. pr.* of the manuscript could be isolated with relative ease (after the fashion of the Greek papyrological *Berichtungsliste* series).

As the varying dates recorded in entries for some of the manuscripts suggest (e.g. sa 3 is 9th century or 10/11th century), the dating of Coptic literary texts can be problematic, mainly because so few reliably dated Coptic manuscripts have survived. Only one of the twenty manuscripts records a date (sa 20, 1003 C.E. [719 Era of Martyrs]). For BL Or. 7561 (49-51) (= sa 10) S. suggests a 5th century date based on a parallel of Stegemann *Koptische Paläographie*, plates 4-5, in contrast to Bentley Layton's 7th century suggestion (B. Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired since 1906* [London: British Library, 1987] 34). Usually the difference in proposed dates is no more than a century, which accords with the tendency of

Coptologists to assign dates spanning two centuries to Coptic manuscripts. The earliest codex in this fascicle (sa 15) contains a part which has been estimated at 300-320 C.E. Ten of the manuscripts are 8th century and earlier, and ten are 9th century and later, proving the continuing importance of the Sahidic dialect of Coptic even in the 11th century.

A noticeable omission in the listing for each manuscript is a section recording its provenance and place of origin. It is understandable that no special section is set aside for this because, as Coptic papyrologists know all too well, the find spot of most Coptic manuscripts is indeterminable. As it is, known provenances are given in the 'Sonstiges' section, but an index to them might be a useful addition to future fascicles. For the record, known provenances include Hamuli (sa 5-6); the White Monastery (sa 8, 12 and 20); and possibly the Theban Monastery of Epiphanius (sa 10). Another desideratum is a list of the known donors and/or former owners of the manuscripts listed in the fascicle, as provided in Layton's British Library catalogue cited above.

Following the list, there are 11 pages of tables, indexes and a concordance which help the reader to access the material contained within it with relative ease, as well as giving insights into issues such as the nature of decisions made in the copying of biblical material (some codices preserve only selections of OT books, e.g. sa 7 and 14; whereas sa 15 preserves OT and NT excerpts). Two tables allow for overviews of the salient features of the twenty manuscripts in this instalment, isolating details such as the date, material, contents and current location of the manuscripts. There are also indexes of biblical passages in the Coptic and Greek manuscripts, as well as lists of colophons and unidentified texts; these are followed by concordances to numbers assigned to the manuscripts by past scholars (Crum, Hebbelynck, Layton, Nagel, Schmitz and Mink, Till, Wessely and Zoega).

Finally there are five pages of plates providing representative samples of handwriting from all twenty manuscripts, albeit reduced in scale. This is a most welcome addition not found in the earlier Gospel texts list of Schmitz and Mink, and especially valuable given the uncertainty of some of the dates assigned to the texts.

Research into the Coptic versions of the Old Testament has not kept pace with New Testament studies. Whereas G. W. Horner's editions of the New Testament in Sahidic and Bohairic, now considered vastly deficient, have been available to scholars for decades, no such project has ever been attempted for the OT. The volume under review helps to provide an overview of what is extant and the material which is still in need of publication (see my edition of a *Gen* fragment in this fascicle of *BASP*, pp. 135-143), and so is an important step along the way to producing such an edition and a concordance of the OT in Sahidic, as well as making a more general contribution to the fields of Biblical studies and Codicology.

The author is to be congratulated on producing such a meticulous and yet concise and user-friendly list of Sahidic biblical manuscripts in an attractive format. Further fascicles are eagerly awaited.

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Cuvigny, Hélène. *Papyrus Graux II (P.Graux 9 à 29)*. École pratique des Hautes Études. IV^e Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques. III Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 19. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1995. Pp. 92 + 17 plates. ISBN 2-600-00041-0.¹

This meticulously edited group of 21 papyri from the Roman period advances the publication of texts purchased in Egypt at the beginning of the 1920's with funds from the Fondation Charles Graux (d. 1882) and housed at the Sorbonne.² According to Cuvigny (hereafter, "C"), the texts published in *P.Graux* II and III represent the last of the unedited pieces of imperial date in a relatively good state of preservation. In the table of papyri (p. 9) eleven of the texts (9-19) appear under the heading "clandestine digging at Philadelphia," for once the Zenon archive was found on the site subsequent to the departure of the German excavators, P. Viereck and F. Zucker, in early 1909, plundering the ruins of the village went on apace. Two other papyri (20-21) are also said to derive from similar fellahin excavations at Theadelphia. Of the remaining eight (22-29), the most interesting from the point of view of provenience is the dossier concerning an unpaid debt in the Ammoniakê Oasis, now

¹ Also reviewed by A. Martin, *Chron. d'Ég.* 71, 1996, 359-61, who expands through an interesting excursus Cuvigny's suggestions for what were the ten *τρούβιλοι* Servilius intended as gifts for Nemesion's children (*P.Graux* 10.12-13)—pine cones from which the children might extract the nuts, or objects in the shape of pine cones (incense, spinning tops, bread, cakes).

² *P.Graux* 1-8 were published by H. Henne in *BIFAO* 21, 1923, and 27, 1927, and republished as *SB* IV 7461-7468. *P.Graux* III 30, the front of an extensive *tomos synkollêsimos*, was edited by S. Kambitsis and appeared in 1997; the back will be published separately as *P.Graux* 31. Other portions of this *tomos* from CE 155 are preserved in *SB* XVI 13060, *BGU* XIII 2270, *P.Berl. Frisk* 1, and *P.Col.* II 1 recto 4—all with receipts to State bankers from transporters, acknowledging payment for their services. Col. xiv of *P.Graux* III 30, a receipt for 21 February 155, joins directly to *P.Col.* II 1 recto 4, col. i; the verso of the Graux papyrus directly follows column x of *P.Col.* V 1 verso 4.

P.Graux inv. 937 lacks a number in the *P.Graux* series; this census declaration was published by R. Bagnall, *BASP* 30, 1993, 43-45 (= 131-Ar-11 in Bagnall-Frier, *Demography of Roman Egypt*, pp. 208-209).

Siwa (27), for it extends our scanty knowledge of Siwite nomenclature and prosopography. The commentary to all texts is both thoughtful and full; the translations lucid. The assemblage includes four private letters, three petitions, two tax receipts, official registers, lists and accounts—every one offering something of papyrological interest. The customary indices and very legible, life-size reproductions of the papyri, produced through scanning, complete the volume.

The texts from Julio-Claudian Philadelphia are part of the tax archive associated with Nemesion, s. of Zoilos, repeatedly attested as collector (*logeutes*, *praktor*) from early in the reign of Claudius to the middle of Nero's reign and the recipient of most private letters found with the tax registers. *P.Graux* 9, a petition addressed to the prefect Avilius Flaccus by two *logeutai* of the *laographia*, both of whose mutilated names end in -ων, complains about extraordinary—and, as the *logeutai* claim, illegal—exactions by the secretary of the strategos and others from his bureau during the later years of Tiberius' reign (CE 29 -33). The amounts extorted total over 4000 drachmas,³ and were said to be for festivals, travel money for the secretary, expenses for a slave (*paidarion*), a monthly charge for the *arithmêsis grammatikou* (perhaps under the pretext of reimbursing the secretary, according to C.), and "winter" and "summer" sworn declarations (*cheiographiai*), apparently involving enforced obligations to cultivate for a period of six months.⁴ Although the Philadelphia tax archive contains year ledgers and daybooks of collections dated to these same years of Tiberius (e.g. *P.Princ.* I 9 revised + P.Mich. inv. 884, records for CE 29/30, and *SB XVI* 12737, for CE 30/31), there is no indication that Nemesion was officially associated with the Philadelphia bureau until more than ten years

³ The petitioners actually claim that 5216 drs. have been exacted, but, as C. points out, they have added in the total for year 18 twice. For Nemesion's attempt to curry favor with another (and later) secretary of the strategos named Sarapion, see *SB XIV* 12143.16-20.

⁴ Perhaps similar in regard to enforced cultivation is the dossier of Isidoros of Psophthis from late in the reign of Augustus (CE 5-6), also found at Philadelphia, in which agents of the strategos were accused of extorting a *cheiographia* to cultivate land on the estate of Livia (see *XXI Congress I*, 413-29).

later. Hence, C. is surely correct to refrain from assuming that one of the *logeutai* is Nemesion, s. of Zoilos.

P.Graux 10 and 11, letters to Nemesion from Servilius and NN,⁵ respectively, flesh out the collector's biography, providing additional examples of his association with those bearing Roman names and his repeated disagreements with others over money matters. The letters also demonstrate beyond doubt that Thermouthis, the only female known to write a letter to Nemesion (*SB XIV* 11585), was, indeed, Nemesion's wife and the mother of his children, for she is greeted together with them in both letters. Now that C. has established Thermouthis' position in the household, I have discovered this businesslike and capable wife elsewhere in unpublished private accounts written by Nemesion—e.g. *P.Corn. inv.* I 19, col. ii, where payments made to workman digging the dykes (λόγο(ς) κκαφητο(ῦ)) and pulling reeds (λύνοντες καλάμο(ς)) are said to be made διὰ Θερμούθ(ι)ος.

P.Graux 16 is a receipt for the *enkyklion*, the ten percent tax on sales here being paid in CE 206 by the purchaser Valeria, daughter of Gaius, on 1³/₄ arouras she bought from Marcus Iulius Cas(s)-ianus. C. joins the parties named to attestations elsewhere: the recipient of the tax, Apion, nomarch of the Arsinoite nome (*BGU XV* 2550, with earlier refs.);⁶ Cassianus (*P.Diog.* 37, CE 202; *P.Diog.* 38, CE 212; *SB XIV* 11705, CE 213); Cassianus and Valeria together, when the former acknowledged to the latter that he had been paid the full purchase price for "another" 1³/₄ arouras (*P.Diog.* 36, undated). Like the family of M. Lucretius Diogenes, Cassianus' father also possessed both Roman and Antinoite citizenship (*P.Phil.* 14, CE 155); nonetheless, the first decade of the third century seems to have found the son facing increasing financial difficulties, as he twice sold off 1³/₄ arouras to Valeria, twice sold off 2 arouras to Ammonarion II, the future wife of the younger M. Lucretius

⁵ C. notes that NN, a βραδέως γράφων, used a brownish ink, suggesting metallic content, despite this being unusual at so early a date.

⁶ Another receipt for *enkyklion* (*P. Graux inv.* 2003), dated some 5 years later than *P.Graux* 16, not only bears Apion's name, but was written in the same hand by the same assistant (*boêthos*) Anoubion alias Syros. C. considers the text too mutilated for adequate transcription.

Diogenes, and subsequently was compelled to use a house and mill at Philadelphia as collateral for a loan from C. Valerius Severus.⁷

P.Graux 17-19 comprise a dossier from CE 307 involving the sale of a small house and courtyard at Philadelphia to Aurelia Tapais, a woman of the village already known through a somewhat similar dossier to have acquired a house with a mill there nine years previously (CE 298).⁸ Although both dossiers include requests for provisional registration of the sale (*parathesis*, 18-19), since the houses she was purchasing were currently unregistered by their owners, *P.Graux* 17 is a copy of a declaration of alienation (*exoikonomêsis*) from the sellers that they no longer dwelt in the house, a document independent of the contract of sale.

The remaining papyri in this group date to the II/III CE and concern various localities in the Herakleides division: *P.Graux* 12, a register probably from a *komogrammateus* of the wheat and barley produced by several categories of public land in an unnamed village; *P.Graux* 13, on the back of 12, administrative documents copied by a single hand, perhaps pertinent to a court case involving boats. *P.Graux* 14, an assessment list dealing first with lands administered by the *dioikêsis* and then with ousiac land near the villages of Hephaistias and Herakleia, the latter village often found in a relation with ones of the Herakleides division, albeit situated in Themistos; *P.Graux* 15, on the back of 14, a list of payments collected from nineteen individuals on the 24th and 27th days of an unnamed month.

P.Graux 20 is a receipt for *syntaximon*, pig tax, and other *merismoi* for CE 138, issued by the *praktōres* of Theadelphia, and 21, a bid to lease the monopoly for selling salted fish (*ταριχοπωλική*, *hapax*) in the village of Apias, Themistos division, from the year CE 151, submitted by Hermas, s. of Heron, gds. of Hermas, who was registered in the metropolis and is known elsewhere in his younger

⁷ The family of M. Lucretius Diogenes knew their own difficulties, as the elders in the paternal line died off in the mid-220's—see introduction to *P.Mich.* XVIII 791, pp. 278-80.

⁸ *P.Wisc.* II 58 (+ *BL* VII, 281; VIII, 512) and 59 (+ *BL* VIII, 512), the contract of sale in two copies, and *P.Mich.* XII 627 (+ *BL* VIII, 216), the request for *parathesis*.

years as one who borrowed money from others (*SB XIV 12105*, *P.Oslo II 39*; cf. *BL X*, 79). As C. notes, the *praktores* who issued the receipt for *syntaximon* in CE 138, Heron and his unnamed colleagues, may likewise be known in a *kat'andra* list of payments for *laographia* and other *merismoi* from CE 134 (*BGU IX 1891 i.1-2* and *xvi.1-2*). It seems less likely, however, that the same Heron and his unnamed colleagues appear twenty years later in a similar receipt dated CE 154 (*BGU XV 2540.5*, 10), for the name Heron is common at Theadelphia.

The *syntaximon* receipt is remarkable, however, for the long and contorted statement with which it closes, an elaborate caution not to make use of another receipt:

μὴ προεχρησάμενος
 ἑτέρῳ συμβόλῳ(ω) μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστῶσης ἡμέρας
 διὰ τὸ ἐμὲ ἀνειληφέναι τὴν ὅλην διαγραφὴν
 τοῦ ἔτους μηδενὸς ἄλλου γράμματος (lines 8-11).

C. translates “Qu’il ne fasse pas état d’une autre quittance antérieure à ce jour, parce que j’ai reçu le paiement intégral dû pour l’année, aucun autre document (?) ...,” and in the note to line 11 (μηδενὸς ἄλλου γράμματος) doubts on grammatical grounds that an ellipsis of ὄντος was intended (pp. 57-59).

The existence of duplicate receipts for one and the same transaction worried those who issued them, although some tax collectors were content to employ only the phrase μὴ προεχρησάμενος ἑτέρῳ συμβόλῳ.⁹ Nonetheless, as B. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt saw early on, “The intention of the official no doubt was to protect himself against fraud; and his meaning in all cases appears to be ‘This receipt only is valid’ (*P.Fay.*, p. 182).” The need to void an earlier written acknowledgment through the one which superseded it was sometimes given explicit expression in various

⁹ E.g. *P.Fay.* 47a.6-7 (CE 114/15), receipt for beer tax, and 54.3 (CE 117/18), cumulative receipt for *syntaximon* and other poll taxes; *P.Diog.* 40.12-13 (CE 216), cumulative receipt for *arithmêtikon katoikôn*; *P.Stras.* V 404.5 (CE 126), cumulative receipt for weavers’ tax.

ways, not only by government collectors in official receipts,¹⁰ but also by writers of private documents, when, for example, the earlier one had been lost—the most common reason mentioned in texts of both types.¹¹ Even when the previous written document was not specifically stated to be invalid, this was nonetheless the implication.¹² I suggest that the writer of the receipt for the *syntaximon* of Theadelphia intended that κυρίου ὄντος be understood with μηδενὸς ἄλλου γράμματος, “because no other document (is valid).”

The writer, of course, *knew* there was another receipt because, as he said, *he* was the one who had collected the entire payment for the year from Horos (διὰ τὸ ἐμὲ ἀνειληφέναι τὴν ὅλην διαγραφὴν τοῦ ἔτους)—yet apparently not in a single payment, but rather in at least one other installment, previously acknowledged in writing.¹³ He seems to have been unable to supply a more precise date for the earlier receipt, so he appealed to the phrase μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστῶσης ἡμέρας, “up to the present day.” A perhaps cumbersome locution in this context, but one encountered in the papyri, as, for example, in the canceling of contracts of loan that have been repaid.¹⁴ When the

¹⁰ E.g. *O.Elkab* 99.8 (CE 129), ἀκύρου οὐσης τῆς πρὸ ταύτης ἀποχῆς and W. Clarysse's correction for *O.Theb.* 130, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς ἀ[π]ο-|χὰς τὰς πρὸ [ταύτης] | ἀκυρῶ[σαι]. In *O.Bod.* II 549.1, (*laographia* receipt, CE 152) and *O.Leid.* 258.1 (*sitologos* receipt, CE 218): ἀντίγραφον ἀποχῆς ἧς καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐξεδόμην.

¹¹ For private receipts, see e.g. *P.Oxy.* VIII 1133.11-14 + *BL* I, 466, καὶ διὰ τὸ | παραπεποκέναι (= -ωκέναι) τὸ γρ[αμματε]ῖόν σου καὶ μὴ εὐρίσκεισθαι, | δηλῶ τοῦτω (= -το) ἄκυρον κ[αὶ ἀνε]πίφ[ορον] ... εἶν[αι], for fruit sold by a grower to a dealer (CE 396); and *P.Alex.* 13.6-8 + *BL* VI 2, τοῦ προτέρου | ἐπιστάλματος ὃ φάσκει παραπεπω-|κέναι ἀκύρου ὄντος, an order to a donkey driver (III CE); cf. also *SB* VI 9619.12. Among official receipts said to have been lost, see *BGU* I 214 (receipt for dyke tax, CE 152), or *P.Lond.* II 316a.6-7, p. 104 (penthemeral, CE 153).

¹² Thus H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 1, 1967, 170-72 = *Scriptiunculae* II 934-37, citing as one of the more explicit *O.Bod.* I 62.6-10, τῷ δὲ πρότερον γρα- | φέντι μὴ χρήσει | διὰ τὸ φάσκειν | παραπεποκέναι (157-151 BCE). The editor of a private receipt for transfer of grain, *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3497.10-11 (CE 216), reached the same conclusion as to the intention of the statement φθάνω δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ κύμβολ(ον) | ἐγδού.

¹³ Cf. also *O.Elkab* 99, in which one *praktor* received the payment for *laographia*, but the other *praktor* the payment for dyke tax and a *merismos*—“since the other receipt before this one [dated 15 Hathyr] is invalid” (for the Greek, above note 10).

¹⁴ E.g. *P.Oxy.* LV 3798.33-34 and 21-22.

specific date of the receipt to be voided was known, it was on occasion spelled out, as in a customs house receipt: "do not use another token dated to the 26th."¹⁵ The writer's intention in employing μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστῶσης ἡμέρας in the *syntaximon* receipt was to indicate that the receipt he was voiding through the present one written on x Payni was dated earlier in the same year (see C.'s translation above).

The third and final section is a miscellany: 22, a letter of recommendation from Maron to Heron, urging the latter to render various services to Agathos, including making the wine cellar available to him, κα[ι] τὴν | οἶνοθήκην ποίησον αὐτὸν | ἀνοῖξαι, lines 5-7; 23, a letter from Koitonikos to Heron concerning the sale of cloaks, with an account of sums on the back (24); 25, the draft of a petition concerning a female weaver who lives with the petitioner in Theadelphia where, although she was assessed the trade tax on weavers, she has encountered difficulties with a nomarch; 26, the fragment of a petition; 27, the dossier from the Siwa Oasis with a certificate of *ephebeia* on the back (28); and finally 29, a list of villages in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

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¹⁵ *P.Cust.* 140 = *Stud.Pal.* XXII 11.4-5 + *BL* VIII, 479, CE 133, and the remarks of P. J. Sijpesteijn, *P.Cust.*, p. 10; also with specific date is the private receipt *CPR* VI 38.3-4.(CE 321).

Scheidel, Walter. *Measuring Sex, Age and Death in the Roman Empire: Explorations in Ancient Demography*. Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology; 1996. 184 pages. (Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series; v. 21). ISBN 1-887829-21-0. \$59.50

“Interdisciplinary” is a word which is bandied about a good deal in academic circles these days, to the extent that like all over-used words, it has become less and less meaningful. Scholars and their publishers frequently make claims that work is “boundary-breaking” or “trans-disciplinary,” when all it does in reality is utilise different branches of the same subject. Scheidel, however, does not invoke the Muse of Interdisciplinarity in this hollow way. He boldly goes beyond the traditional parameters of Greek papyrology, classical ancient history and archaeology, to utilise statistics, genetics and primary textual sources from cultures outside the narrowly classical canon, such as the Zoroastrian Pahlavi texts from Iran, written down from the 9th century CE onwards. His book is a genuinely interdisciplinary endeavour—some might even say a polemical one, since part of the book’s agenda from the outset is to reinstate the importance of science to ancient social history: “We have no choice but to rely on science to understand history” (10).

Such interdisciplinarity, of course, make Scheidel’s book a difficult task for most reviewers; to do his work full justice one would need to be expert in all the diverse fields which he deploys. Other, better qualified, reviewers have drawn attention to problems they have perceived in Scheidel’s methodology, especially with regard to his use of statistics,¹ while still acknowledging the solidity and value of his conclusions. True, Scheidel himself stresses the fact that many of the hypotheses in this book are preliminary and subsequently may need to be revised.² But nonetheless it seems to

¹ R. S. Bagnall, in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 8:17 (1997), available at gopher://gopher.lib.virginia.edu:70/0R0-22551-/alpha/bmcr/v97/97-8-17.

² As indeed Scheidel himself has done in this journal: “Incest Revisited: Three Notes on the Demography of Sibling Marriage in Roman Egypt,” *BASP* 32 (1995)

me that even the most scientifically challenged reader (like myself) may derive much benefit from the book, in terms of both the particular and the general. At the very least, Scheidel's deductions about the society of Roman Egypt—the impossibly high incidence of twins in census documents, the disastrous genetic effects of close-kin marriage, and the factors that may have influenced the ways individuals estimated their ages—give insights into a radically different society. On this level, then, Scheidel's initiative is in an important one for papyrologists, because he allows his data to point out differences in cultural practice rather than to smooth over the wrinkles and allow ancient experience to be read off against modern.

As its subtitle "Explorations in ancient demography" implies, the book consists of four virtually free-standing sections, almost like a series of sondages, the archaeologist's practice trenches which reveal the stratigraphy of a site. Since the four sections stand more or less alone, in a sense the book is unified more by its methodology than by the data sets it utilises. The first chapter is on close-kin marriage (pp. 9-51), and seems to be the one closest to the author's heart. This is the preliminary version of a longer work, which will make more use of the very interesting Zoroastrian evidence for consanguineous marriage. The second is on digit preference in papyrus documentation, and the extent to which the ages of individuals stated in these texts are accurate, or are influenced by other considerations, including the religious associations of certain numbers (pp. 53-91). The third deals with the ways in which individuals were recruited into the Roman imperial army and the possible demographic consequences (pp. 93-138); since this is perhaps the chapter of least direct interest to most papyrologists, I will do no more than signal it in this review. The final chapter is on how rates of death were affected by climatic or seasonal factors in

143-55 and "What's in an Age? A Comparative View of Bias in the Census Returns of Roman Egypt," *BASP* 33 (1996) 25-59; and in "The Meaning of Dates on Mummy Labels: Seasonal Mortality and Mortuary Practice in Roman Egypt," *JRA* 11 (1998) 285-292, where he argues that dates recorded on mummy labels refer to the completion of embalming seventy days after death, so that the whole seasonal mortality distribution he reconstructs for Egypt needs to be shifted accordingly.

Rome, Carthage and Egypt (pp. 139-163). All these topics are treated in considerable detail, drawing on an extensive range of primary evidence and trans-historical comparanda, many of which are fascinating excurses in themselves. Equally, all are informed by scientific analysis, usually made easier for the non-scientist to comprehend by numerous graphs, tables and bar charts. Following the main text there is an afterword about the future of research (165) and two appendices, on Zoroastrian sources for close-kin marriage (166-167) and the size of the population of Italy under Augustus (167-168).

The first chapter presents a challenging re-assessment of that most discussed Romano-Egyptian social phenomenon, close-kin marriage. In the past there have been some rather anodyne presentations of this, as an odd but more or less endearing cultural quirk: I am thinking particularly of Jack Lindsay's *Daily Life in Roman Egypt* (1963) and Keith Hopkins' often-quoted article in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980), both superfluously embellished with quotations from New Kingdom love poetry and illustrations of mummy portraits. In contrast with these essentialising narratives, Scheidel concentrates on specifics, especially the potential genetic repercussions of the practice and its effect on the fertility of the population. He analyses the papyrological evidence statistically to show that the incidence of brother-sister marriage was extremely high at certain times and places in Roman Egypt (the test case is the Arsinoite nome, the only place from which enough papyri survive to sustain statistical analysis). Then, after a comparison with some other in-bred communities, including the Hutterites, Scheidel is pessimistic about the reproductive prognosis for close-kin Arsinoite marriages: "not unlike the Red Queen in Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass*, the average incestuous family of Roman Egypt would have had to keep running just to stay in place" (26). We do not come much nearer, however, to understanding why some Romano-Egyptians chose to violate the "universal" incest taboo proposed by anthropologists. Scheidel conventionally suggests (38) "that, above all, powerful *subconscious* mechanisms contrive to uphold the incest taboo" [his italics], and then provides some interesting comparanda drawn from the marriage patterns of communally-raised kibbutzim,

who avoided members of their *de facto* (but unbiological) sibling group as marriage partners. He comes to no conclusion on this question, and surmises that "the negative effects of inbreeding depression... were actually quite considerable but quietly endured" (48); but in some ways matters are still left hanging. Using genetics, Scheidel has proposed a model for the demographic effects of extensive close-kin marriages which needs to be tested by the documentary sources, but cannot be, because the documents do not provide the information required. However, final and definitive conclusions are perhaps not the issue here. At the very least, Scheidel will force scholars to think harder about consanguineous marriage, and in quite a new way; more positively, Scheidel's gloomy but highly nuanced picture of the realities of such marriages is an important antidote to their conventional presentation in both scholarly and popular literature.

The second chapter is less controversial, but still raises some important and interesting general points from specific data, derived from funerary contexts (such as mummy labels) as well as documents. While "age reports in documents destined for official use such [*sic*] the census returns... are consistently highly accurate by any reasonable standard" (87), Scheidel makes out a convincing case that ages are rounded off in many other contexts, particularly when one individual is guessing at the age of a second. These contexts might be banal, such as a witness' age in a document subscription, or of some symbolic importance, such as a funerary commemoration. A noticeable preference for multiples of ten or five can be discerned; other numbers, particularly seven, tend to be avoided, perhaps because of negative magical associations. As he concedes, it is difficult to be sure why ages were so often perfunctorily recorded, especially when it would have been quite possible to come up with more accurate information. (Here Scheidel might have considered the implications of widespread horoscope casting: individuals certainly held onto their personal horoscopes, which contained extremely detailed information about the exact date and time of birth, and in some cases this information was also preserved on funerary commemorations which record the lifespan down to the number of hours.) But what is important to note from Scheidel's analysis is that accuracy of age statements are not to be seen as

indicative of levels of literacy: factors such as who is making the estimate and the nature of the document in which the age is recorded also come into play.

The final chapter employs an equally wide range of sources to analyse regional variability in patterns of death at different times of year. Scheidel's ancient case studies are the city of Rome, Egypt and Carthage (some parallels from later historical periods are also discussed at length, partly to illustrate the potential deceptivity of making these comparisons: 144-148). Mortality rates in the ancient world peaked between July and October, but Scheidel argues against the tendency to ascribe this to deaths from malaria: his later comparanda indicate the multiplicity of causes of death, when (for instance) fevers produced by poor sanitation combined with malarial debility. The seasonal distribution of deaths in Roman Egypt (p. 154, apparently derived from death dates recorded on mummy labels) yields an annual pattern very similar to the one produced for Rome (p. 139, derived from death dates on early Christian funerary inscriptions, but see note 2 above for Scheidel's subsequent revision of some of his conclusions in this chapter). Mortality in Egypt, he posits, peaked during July, and the general curve is two months in advance of Rome, with the least cruel month being January in Egypt, but March in Rome. According to Scheidel, "[t]his shift can be explained by the warmer climate of Egypt in which infectious diseases dependent on stable high temperatures would have spread, killed, and run out of steam earlier in the year than in Italy" (153). The data from Carthage, again derived from funerary monuments, provide a strikingly different pattern of seasonal mortality, with no particular variation discernible from month to month: Scheidel believes that this could "reflect a genuine difference between the demographic régimes" (160) rather than a discrepancy between the Roman and African sources.

In sum, this is an important book, as much for the disciplinary challenges it lays down as for its conclusions on specifics. It made me realise just how much work there is to do, and how shaky the foundations of much conventional wisdom seem to be on closer scrutiny. We will have to wait and see whether future researchers have the courage to step outside traditional disciplinary boundaries as bravely as Scheidel has, and pick up his gauntlet of relocating

ancient history in a biological, and thus truly interdisciplinary, perspective.

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